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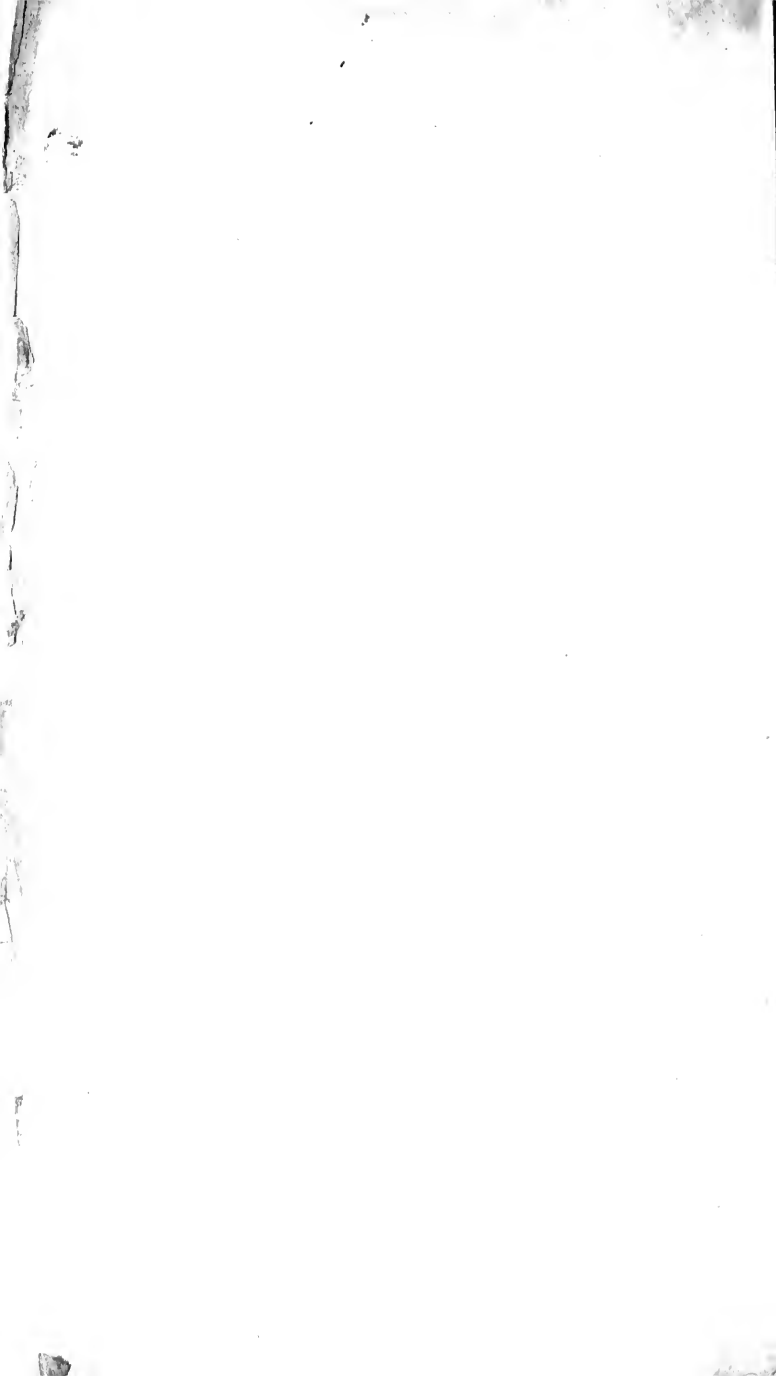
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This curious Work was written
by Bishop Fleetwood.



Chronicon Preciosum :

OR, AN

ACCOUNT

OF

English Money,

THE

PRICE of CORN,

AND

Other Commodities,

For the last 600 Years.

By Bishop Gibson.

IN A

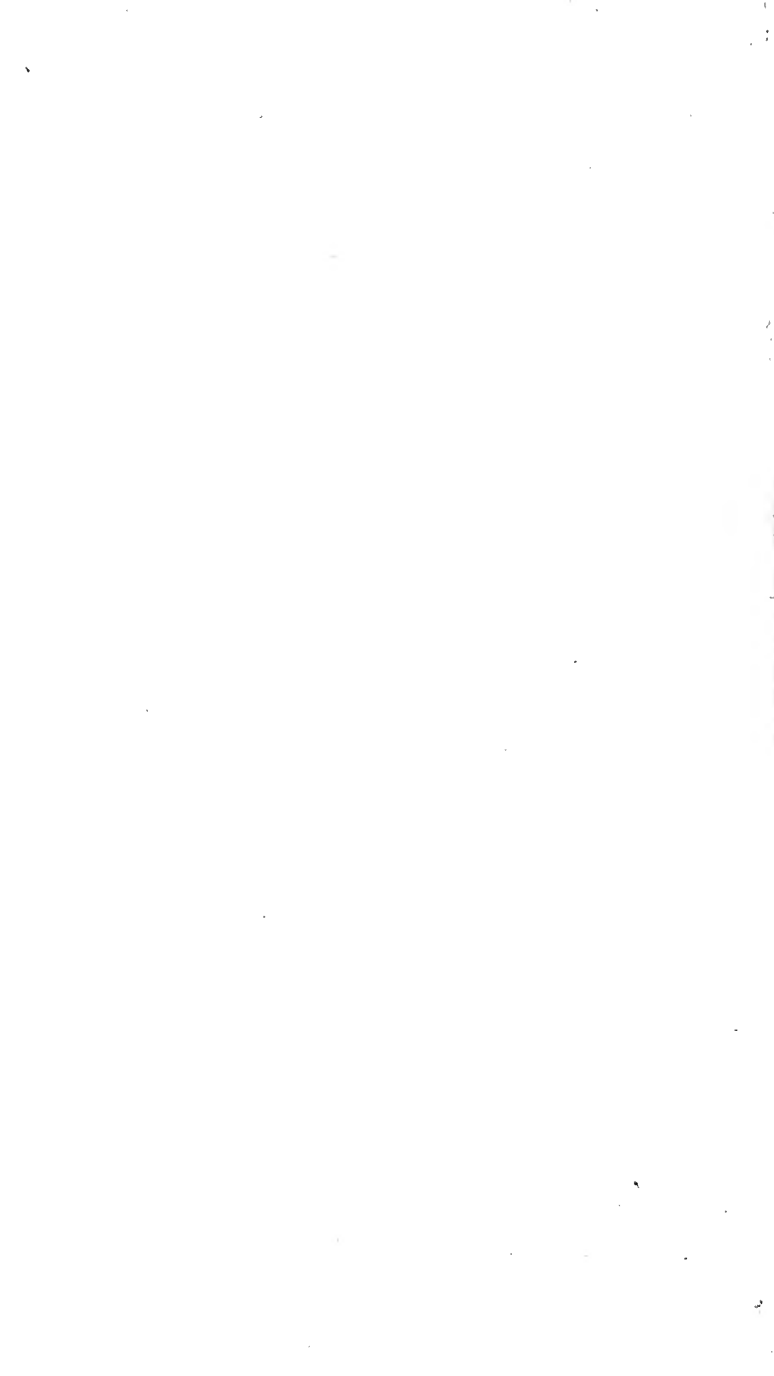
LETTER to a *Student*

IN THE

Univerſity of *Oxford.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Charles Darnet, at the *Flower-de-luce*, over-againſt *St. Dunſon's Church*, in *Fleetſtreet.* M D C C VII.



THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
R E A D E R.

WHEN I had set down, in the First Chapter, the Reason and Occasion of writing this little Book; and, in the following Ones had given the Proofs of my Determination; and, in the Last, had shewn the Use and Application of them, I thought I had made an end of my Business.

But the Bookseller, it seems, is of the Opinion, that I should not shew my self Respectful enough to you, unless I introduced you, by the way of Preface.

The P R E F A C E

To comply, therefore, with his Desires, I must needs think of saying something, tho' it be but to discover some of the Imperfections of this Book.

The Chapters then, of Money, might have been much more compleat, by the Addition of 5, or 6 Plates of the several Coins we have had, since the Conquest. Of the Golden Ones, I despair of ever seeing a Collection, of any tolerable Antiquity; since they who are best, as I hear, provided of these Treasures, can rise no higher than Ed. III. And for my own Part, I have never seen any one Piece, older than H. VI. and that was, I believe, a French one too: And I am confident, that to a common Curiosity, a Piece of Gold, older than the last Edward, will appear a very great Rarity. And yet, for full Five hundred Years since the Conquest, one may well imagine, that most
of

of the great Payments must have been made in Gold; since (as I think, I have made appear) for 300 Years after that Time, there were no other Silver Pieces coined, than Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings: and for 150 Years next after, there were no other than a Groat and Half Groat. Henry VII. being the first that ever coin'd a Shilling, and that too at the latter end of his Reign, and but a very few of them: So that when you read (out of that Passage of Gervase of Tilbury, cited at large by * Mr. Lowndes, and whom I have, by Mistake, in Page 69, cited as writing in the Time of H. I. instead of H. II.) sub omnium Oculis effundit in Scaccario xxiiii Solidos, quos de Acervo sumptos prius signaverit. And a little after, Reliquos verò xxiiii Solidos mittit in Loculum. When, I say, you read these Passages, and others like them, in

* In his Essay.

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ancient Writers of the English Affairs, you are not to conclude that there was then any such Piece as a Shilling coined, no more than you would conclude there was such a Coin as a Pound, tho' you often meet with the word *Libra*. Upon the whole Matter, till about 1544, the Silver Money of England consisted of Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence (called, of old, Mails) and Farthings : In any, or all, of which Pieces, it must have been very troublesome, to have paid 5, or 10 thousand Pounds : which makes it somewhat strange, that no more Gold of Ancient Kings should be preserv'd among us. But so, the Antiquaries tell us, it is with Grecian and with Roman Pieces, there being 40 Medals preserv'd, for one Piece of Currant Coin, that we can be sure of. So that the best Reason, why we have so few old Gold Coins remaining with us, seems to be, because they

they were (*as we call them*) Currant, i. e. they might be easily spent.

But this that has been said, makes it appear, that a small Plate or two would hold the Coins of Silver, of 500 Years. For the Coins of W. Conq. W. II. H. I. Stephen, H. II. R. I. John, H. III. Ed. I. Ed. II. were only Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. The Coins of Ed. III. R. II. H. IV. H. V. H. VI. Ed. IV. R. III. were only Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings. H. VII. (*as is above-said*) added to this Number, the Shilling, which is, I believe, hard to meet with. H. VIII. added no new Species, but, in his later Life, debased all the old ones. Ed. VI. debased them yet more, but in his last Year, made great amends, and added Crowns, Half-Crowns, Six-Pences, and Three-Pences, (*so that I have mistaken, Page 42. in saying Three-Pences were first coined*

The P R E F A C E

by Q. Elizab.) As to the Coins of the Princes following, they have been in almost every Bodies Hands: but yet the Memory of their Weight, Fineness, and Compass, ought to be preserved to Posterity, much better than 'tis like to be. And we see the Necessity of the late new Coinage, hath almost obliterated the Names of E. VI. Q. Mary, Q. Eliz. Jac. I. and C. I. already. So that an 100 Years hence, it will be hard to know, what sort of Money, was coined by Them; which would be great Pity, since they coined excellent Money, both for Weight and Fineness, which is both to the Advantage and Honour of a Nation. This Evil, I once thought to have remedied; but the Trouble of procuring, rather than the Charge of cutting a single Piece of each Prince, since the Conquest, was, I found, too great for such a One as I am: and whoever attempts it, must be obliged
to

to the R E A D E R.

to abundance of curious Persons, who have these Coins in their private Cabinets. And I here bespeak their Favour, if I should ever have Time and Power to undertake it.

I have also, in the Second Chapter, omitted all Quarter-Pieces of Gold, of whatever Denomination, because they will be easily known, by knowing the whole: as also the 5 l. and the 2 l. Pieces of Gold of Ch. II. and the 3 l. Pieces of Ch. I. and some other such like, because they rather seem to have been Medals, than Currant Coin.

As to the Chapter of Prices, it will be in every Body's Power, to make it more compleat, by reading the old Computus's, that he shall chance to light upon, and inserting what he finds wanting, or differing from the Accounts, that I have given: but most especially the Gentlemen of each University,

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verſity, will have it in their Hands, to make what Amendments they ſhall ſee good, out of their old Rolls, and Burſars Accounts; which I look upon as the moſt ſure Guides, in Enquiries of this Nature; becauſe our General Hiſtories do moſtly give us the Prices of Things, which are extraordinary, either for Cheapneſs, or for Dearneſs. Whereas the College-Accounts, deliver faithfully the ordinary and common Price of moſt Commodities, and Proviſions.

One Thing more I muſt obſerve to you; That the Nature of the Work obliged me, I thought, to ſet down the Names of the Authors, out of which I collected, the Materials of this Book; as well to juſtify my ſelf, as that you may recur to the Originals, whenever you pleaſe, in the particular Years: as alſo to advert, a little, that Scorn, with
which

which some, in their supercilious Gravity, may persue the Collectors of such light and trivial Matters; when they shall find, that no English Historian, of any tolerable esteem among us, hath failed to make Observations of the like nature. Nay, some considerable Ones, have made it so much their Business, that they seldom conclude a Year without informing us, whether it were, a dear, or a cheap one.

This Remark, will also help to remove, the Ostentation of much Reading, because there is no need of reading an Author throughout, to find what I have here discovered; the Method of many of them, making it easier to do so, by setting down (as I said) the Price of Corn, and other Provisions, at the End of every Year. But so far I must needs ostentate my Reading, as to assure you, that I have viewed with my own Eyes, and transcribed from all the
Origi-

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Originals, whatever I have set down; even many Particulars, which I have been content to give you very often, in honest Mr. Stow's English.

But, after all the Care I could take, I am sensible, there must needs be many Faults, and many Mistakes, in a Work of this Nature; and One I have already found, which I think my self obliged to retract, in this Place, because it is too late to do it in its proper One; and that is, a Censure I passed on Mr. Speed's giving us so many Two-Pences, and Three-Pences of Saxon Kings, and some others, since the Conquest. I was led into it, (as others have been) by thinking he intended to mark Two Pences, and Three-Pences by the Figures of 2 and 3, which, I am now sensible, he intended for another Purpose. And therefore, as it would be an Error in any One, to think those Pieces were coin'd so early, so I must needs
acquit

TO the R E A D E R.

acquit Mr Speed, either of being in that Error himself, or of leading any others into it by Design, altho' those Figures are placed over the Coins I there mention in Page 43. I have made some sort of Amends however, for these Errors, by taking more than usual Care, that you should have as few Errata's of the Printer, as is possible in a Work of this sort, and which you will find at the Beginning of the Book.

THE



T H E

C O N T E N T S.

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bour, &c.* p. 131

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Chro.

ERRATA.

PAge 43, & 46. *M. Westm.* P. 113. *Summ the 8th,*
read *oi l.* not *io l.*

Chro-

Chronicon Preciosum:

OR, AN

ACCOUNT

OF

English Money, Corn, &c.

CHAP. I.

The CASE.

THE Statutes of a certain College (to the Observation of which, every one is sworn, when admitted Fellow) vacating a Fellowship, if the Fellow has an Estate in *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*, of *Five Pounds per An.* I desire you would be pleased, to give me your Answer to these following Questions; when I have first told you, that the College was founded between the Years 1440, and 1460.

B

I. Whe-

- I. Whether He who is possessed of an Estate, of that, or greater Value, may make it over *in trust* to his Friend, and then safely swear to the Observation of such Statute, amongst the rest ?
- II. Whether He who has not an Estate of that Value, when admitted Fellow, may keep his Fellowship tho' he *afterwards* come to an Estate of that, or much greater Value ?
- III. Whether He who is actually possessed of an Estate, of *Six Pounds per An.* as Money, and Things go *now*, may safely take that Oath, upon presumption, that VI *l.* now, is not worth what V *l.* was, when that Statute was made.

The Answer to your First Question, may be easily had, by your asking your self another, *viz.* Whether that Estate, tho' made over to another, be not still *yours*, as to the Profits of it, for the present, and as to the Disposal of it, for the future ? If it be, How can you safely swear it is not yours, when you have it
to

to all Intents and Purposes? A Man may have a legal Title to an Estate, and yet not be Possessor of it, nor receive any Fruits of it; he may be outed by Violence; it may be entirely mortgaged; or sequestred for payment of Debts; and during such Violence, Mortgage, or Sequestration, he may safely swear, he is worth but so much as he truly and indeed receives, and nothing more, let the Estate be never so great in it self. And such an Oath as yours has not Respect to the *Title* alone, but to the *Title* with the *Profits* of an Estate. And since the making over your Estate, does not, (nor do you intend it should) defeat you of either, How can you save your Oath, by making over the Title of it, and that, it may be, only for the present? No Man but He who has a mind to it, can be deceived by such Collusion. If an *Act of Parliament* should discharge all Debtors, who would swear they were not worth five Pounds, would you believe your Debtor an honest Man, who should take such an Oath, when you knew he had an Estate sufficient to discharge his Obligations to you, but had made it over to another, only to defeat his Creditors? Assure your self, such making over your Estate, would

not preserve you from the Guilt of Perjury, neither before God, nor good Men, tho' you would swear true *according to the Letter*. We lately heard of a Man, who, to save himself, from paying a certain Summ, assess'd by *Act of Parliament*, made over a great Treasure to his Neighbour (ignorant of the Matter) and lock'd him safely up in his Closet, till he came into the Court, and took his Oath he had not so much Money in the World; and then came back, set his Neighbour at Liberty, and took his Treasure again into his own Possession. All who heard it, said he was a *perjured Villain*, and tho' he had eluded the Law, yet he remain'd a Debtor to God's Justice, which would certainly find him out. This was the extremest Impudence that could be practis'd; but assure your self, all Collusions of this kind, are as great Prophanations of an Oath as his was. They who make over the Titles of an Estate, and yet reserve the Profits, are, in the sight of God (as well as their own) as much Masters of those Estates, as if they had the *Titles* of them also in their Cabinets.

Your *Second* Question seems to require more Pains to answer it, than the First.

But

But it only *seems so*, for there is in Truth, but little Difficulty in it, if you consider never so little, the plain and visible Intention of your Founder; which was, that no Body worth five Pounds *per An.* should be Fellow of his College: Why else should he require you, to declare, under an Oath, you would obey that Statute? 'Tis manifest, that if you had an Estate above that determin'd Value, you could not take that Oath; and, if you could not take that Oath, you could not be admitted Fellow. The having that Estate therefore, must of necessity hinder you, by the Founder's visible Intention, from being *admitted* Fellow; Will not the same Intention therefore hinder you from *continuing* Fellow? I do not, however, directly charge with Perjury, such Continuation, unless you deny, or do industriously conceal, your having such an Estate; because I am not sure you are obliged (by Virtue of your general Oath) to vacate, of your own accord, your Fellowship, but to submit to the Directions, or Injunctions of your lawful Superiours, and the Judges appointed in such Cases. But yet I think it such a Violation of that Statute, as I would not counsel you to venture on. And, it may be, another

Case, not much removed from this, may better clear up this Question. Suppose it appeared to be the Purpose of your Founder, that no married Man should be Fellow of his College, and that before Admission, every one were required to swear he was not married; Might One be married *after* such an Oath, and continue Fellow, honestly, and with a good Conscience? I believe you will not think he might; but will rather conclude, that the Force of that Oath was, by the Founder intended to secure his main Purpose, of having none but single Men Fellows of that Society; and that that Circumstance which would have *prevented* his Admission, would also, at any time after *exclude* him. Thus, I believe, you would determine in any others Case, and without any Bias on your Mind; and yet such Oath does not, in Terms, directly take in future Time; but only says, *I am not married: I am not worth so much, &c.*

Your *Third* and last Question will cost me more Pains, and you more Patience, before we come to the Conclusion; if we can come to any satisfactory one at last. The Question would certainly need no Answer, if it were asked in gross,
Whe-

Whether he who has VI Pounds per An. may safely swear he has not V? When a Pound is, in both Places (and has been so for more than 600 Years) XX s. but as you have qualified it, by distinguishing the Times, it will require both a good Casuist, and a pretty good Historian, to answer it absolutely, and to your Purpose; which is (as I take it) to know, of what Value you may now hold an Estate, with safety to your Conscience, which is charged with the Observation of that Statute, which vacates the Fellowship of One who has an Estate of Inheritance, or a perpetual Pension of C s. or V l. per An. A better Casuist, I own, you might easily have found. But, it may be, you could not so easily have found One, who hath in his Readings, made more Observations on the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, at different Times, than I have done, as you will perceive by reading this long Letter. So that, for ought I know, my Diligence may make you Amends for what want of Judgment may be found in me. And I do not say this in Vanity and Ostentation of my Labour, but because without a good share of Knowledge in these Matters, the best Casuist in the World can

never answer your Question satisfactorily. And indeed, as the World now goes, the greatest (tho' I will not think the best) part of Readers, will be rather apt to despise, than to commend the Pains that are taken in making Collections of so mean Things, as the Price of Wheat, and Oats, of Poultry, and such like Provisions: Tho', I hope, before I have done, to shew you, that the Observation of these little Things, may be of good use, in the Consideration of great Affairs. And when you shall find, that many a single Line, of this Letter, has cost me the looking over a great Book, you will rather think fit to commend my Industry, than to disparage so many good Authors, out of whom I have gathered these Materials: At least, you will think I wanted no Good-will to do you Service, who have taken such Pains to satisfy your Question, that if any ancient *Greek* or *Latin* Writer had taken the like, and left us such Collection, you would have had the *Salmasius's*, the *Grævius's*, and the *Gronovii* almost out of their Wits for very Joy. But I am now come to your Question, and must premise, before I speak to it, that whereas you say your Statutes were made betwixt the Years

1440, and 1460. I must, to save Labour, call this Space, *the Reign of H. VI.* tho' his Reign began 18 Years sooner.

I do affirm then, with the best Judgment I have, that I am seriously persuaded, that, altho' you are actually possessed of an Estate of VI Pounds *per An.* as Money and Things go now, you may safely take that Oath, upon Pretumption that VI Pound *now*, is not worth what V *l.* was then, when that Statute was first made. Because whoever swears, swears to *Things* that are signified by Words, and not to *mere words*. When a Word signifies the same thing *now* in effect, which it signified 260 Years ago, then he who swears to *Words*, swears to the Things they signify; but when different Things are signified by the same Word, then he who knows that difference of Things, cannot help giving such Word, its proper and intended signification. A *Pound* (for instance) will buy either more, or less Corn (take it which way you will) *now*, than it would in *H. VI.* time. A *Pound* is therefore of more or less Value *now*, than it was *then*: and the Value of a *Pound* is truly a *Pound* — its mere *Name*. It is not there . . .

same *Thing* now, that it was in *H. VI.* time.

I wish, I confess, with all my Heart, that all Oaths were so contrived and so worded, that they might be taken with the utmost plainness and simplicity; and that no Room or Occasion could be left for any mental Reservation, or Exception in the Mind: But I think it can never be; almost all Words are Equivocal: And it is impossible to fix a determin'd Sense, on the Denominations of Coin, when all Things purchasable with Money, are so changeable and uncertain. I do not mean, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, might not be always fix'd, so as to signifie XX s. XIII s. IV d. and XII d. but that it never can be so ordered, in this World, that a Man should always, 200 Years ago, and now, and 200 Years hence, purchase the same Quantity of Corn, the same Number of Chickens, and as many Yards of Cloth, at one Time as at the , with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, or a *Shilling*. And if this cannot be, then I maintain, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, is not now the same Thing with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, 200 Years ago. And therefore I may safely take my Oath, that, altho' I am worth VI l. as Money
and

and Things go now, yet I am not worth *V l.* as Money and Things went 260 Years ago, in the Days of *H. VI.* And if it be said, that I must needs take the Words of my Oath in their *Plain, Literal, and Grammatical Sense*; I answer, That so I must, wherever I can; but in this Case, the *Plain, Literal, and Grammatical Sense* of *Five Pounds*, is not the same, with what it was 260 Years ago. What shall I do then? Shall I prefer the *Plain, Literal, and Grammatical Sense* of Words at this present, before the *Plain, Literal, and Grammatical Sense* of the same Words as it stood 260 Years ago; which, I am sure, was the Sense of the Founder? I grant, that if it were a *Case in Law*, I should be determin'd by the Sense which the Words do bear at present; but as it is a *Case of Conscience*, I do roundly affirm, that *V Pound*, is not the same Thing, at present, that *V l.* was in the Reign of *H. VI.*

And that I may very honestly have Regard to the Value of *V l.* 260 Years ago, will, I believe, appear evident from what I am going to say; That the Founder intended the same Ease, and Favour to Those who should live in his College 260 Years after his Decease, as to Those
who

who lived in his own Time. Now, they who lived in his Time, might, with V Pounds, purchase so much Bread, so much Drink, Meat, Cloth, Firing, Books, and other Necessaries, or Conveniencies: I know not exactly how much more is it material: I only say, if I could be provided I might keep such an Estate, as would suffice to procure the same Bread, Drink, Meat, Cloth, Books, &c. as the other might have procured for V Pounds, 260 Years ago. But this I cannot possibly do with VI Pounds, as Things go now, nor it may be, with four times as much. I may therefore have Regard (tho' in an Oath) to the value of *Pounds* at that time; and, unless I have, I shall be in a much harder Condition, than he who lived so long ago; which is what the Founder neither did, nor could intend. This Argument in general seems, to me, unanswerable; and if you apply it to Particulars, you will see its Force more clearly. Use it, for Example, in the Business of *taking Degrees* in the *University*, to which you know you are obliged, and without which a Fellowship must needs be vacated. A *Degree* might be taken 260 Years ago, at five times less Charge, than it can be at this Day; and if a Fel-
low

low must loſe his Fellowſhip for want of a Degree, may it not very eaſily come to paſs, that he ſhall not be able to pay for that *Degree*, if he may not be worth more than V Pounds *per An.* as Money goes now? Some *Founders* have, in Caſes of extream Poverty, made Allowances, for indigent and virtuous Scholars, towards the taking their Degrees: but if you look into thoſe Statutes, you will find that thoſe Allowances are (as Money and Degrees go now) ſo very inconfiderable, that they ſignifie little or nothing towards it, which yet in thoſe early Days, would (with a little help of Friends) have been ſufficient to the intended Purpoſe. This is a clear Proof, that Regard both may and muſt be had, to the different Value of Money, at different Times; and that the Founder's viſible Intention is better answered by ſuch Regard, than it would be by a ſtrict and obſtinate Adherence to the bare Letter of the Statute.

This Inconvenience (you may poſſibly object) will follow, from departing from the preſent Value of a *Pound*, and having regard to what it was formerly; namely, That hereby too great a Liberty will be taken in Oaths of this Nature: Some will be apt to run the Matter too
high,

high, and (by reason of the uncertainty we are in, what Proportion a *Pound* at present bears to a *Pound* in *H. VI.* time) may pretend to keep their Fellowship, with an Estate of great Value. And to this I answer, That, for ought I know, it will now and then happen, as you surmise ; nor is there any one Rule that is not subject to Abuse. And therefore I do not presume to set out, with any Exactness, or Certainty, and much less to determine Positively, how great an Estate is, at present, equivalent to an Estate, of the same Denomination 260 Years ago. I leave that to Others, to gather from the particular Accounts of Things that I shall give them, from our Historians. And they who are concern'd, ought seriously to consider, that altho' a *Pound* in *H. VI.* Time, might be worth 4 or 5, or more, in our own Times, yet it was not worth 20 or 30. And therefore the uncertainty of its Value cannot encourage any reasonable Man, to advance it to an extravagant height. They who are the Guardians of your College-Statutes, cannot (I believe) tell you exactly, how much *Land of Inheritance*, or how great a yearly *perpetual Pension*, will now-a-days answer to *V Pounds* in *H. VI.* Reign : but yet

yet they can tell you that 60 or 70 *l. per An.* will be too much to keep together with a Fellowship, if it be *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*. And furthermore (which is an Answer to all Objections of this Kind, and a sufficient Restraint to all Exorbitance) these Guardians of your Statutes, have it in their Power (if it be in to have it in their Will) to judge according to the *Letter*, and to determine that V Pounds, as Pounds do now go, shall be the limited Summ, which shall not be exceeded. For the *Letter* is the Judge's Rule, and the Sense he pleases to put upon that *Letter*, is that by which you are to be determined, without Appeal or Remedy, unless he say that *V l.* is any thing less than an *C s.* And tho' I believe they never *will* determine, in any such Case, without regard to Equity, and Reason, and comparing of Times, yet if they *should*, you would be obliged to abide by their Judgment. And therefore all I have said, or can say on this Head, is only to shew you, what I think may be safely done with respect to Equity, and a good Conscience: Not to exempt you from the Jurisdiction of your lawful Superiours, but to shew you what you may do as an honest

honest Man, tho' what you do, does not agree exactly with the *Letter* of the Statutes, to which you are obliged, nay (if you will) to shew you, what you may innocently do, even when you may be punished for so doing.

But since I have said, that great regard is to be had to the *Founder's Intention*, where, and as far as it appears; you may perhaps desire to know, from whence it comes to pass, that a Fellow is, without dispute, allowed to enjoy the *Interest* of Money, or the Profits of a *Lease* to a much greater value, than that of V Pounds *per An.* when the Intention of the Founder seems to be plainly defeated by so doing? I answer you, That the *Intention of the Founder* does not seem plainly to be defeated, by holding a *Lease*, or by receiving the *Interest* of Money; because of the *uncertainty* of this Provision: Your Money may be lost by many Accidents; and if it should, then you are quite destitute, and undone: And a *Lease* is generally for a Term of Years, which you may chance to outlive, and then you may be in as ill a Condition: But *Land of Inheritance*, and a *perpetual Pension*, are as certain a Provision for Futurity, as the state of human Affairs will allow of.

This,

This, you see, makes a great difference. But moreover, I do not say, that you are to seek for the *Founder's Intention* any farther than it plainly appears in his Statutes; nor that you are obliged, in many Cases, to argue from a *Parity of Reason*. Money was put out to *Interest*, and *Leases* were made, in the time of *H. VI.* and your Founder, who lived in his Reign, knew this very well, and therefore had it in his Power, to have mentioned, and excepted *Interest* and *Leases*, in his Statutes, had he so pleased; and not having made any such Exceptions, you have no Reason to presume, that his Intention was to except them, but to enjoy the Liberty he leaves you at. Where Law-givers are at Liberty to oblige and bind their Subjects, and may use what Terms and Words they please, to signify such Obligation, their Words are presumed to include no more than they express: their Silence neither profits, nor hurts any one, 'tis their express Words that do both.

Supposing therefore, that you are convinced, that you may innocently swear to the Observation of the Statutes, and yet intend to keep your Fellowship, altho' you have an Estate of VI Pounds *per An.* upon Presumption that VI Pounds

now-a-days, are not equal to V Pounds
260 Years ago.

Supposing, I say, this; I am now at Liberty to proceed to an Historical Account of Money, and of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities; that by understanding both, and comparing one with the other, you may be the better able, to determine what Proportion, a *Pound*, a *Mark*, a *Shilling*, or a *Penny*, now, bears to the same Denominations many Years ago. For this Account of Money, you will be obliged to *Fabian*, and to *Stow's Chronicle*, to *Sir H. Spelman*, and others, but especially to *Mr. Lowndes's Essay*; I have only taken Leave and Pains to put Things into a Method which I thought better for my Purpose, and more for the Reader's Satisfaction, than any of theirs would be. And first, of the several Names that you will often find in reading over our Histories, both *Latin* and *English* The *Gold* I have put *Alphabetically*, that Recourſe may be had more easily to them; the *Silver*, as better known, I speak of gradually, beginning at the highest, which is a *Pound*, and coming to a *Farthing*, which is the lowest English Coin we have; and of which we have had none made of Silver
(that

(that I can find) since the 36 *H. VIII.* *i. e.* since 1542; and those were certainly very bad, since out of 6 Ounces of fine Silver, (together with 6 Ounces of Al-
lay) there were made 2304 Farthings, the Pound (as then most abusively called) going at 48 *s.* All the Denominations of Gold, were actually coined, at the Times I have set down (and not sooner, that we can find.) But for the Silver, most of them were mere Names, and were never coin'd; which they were, I observe as I go along.

C H A P. II.

An Account of the Gold Coins.

Angels, were doubtless so called at first, from an *Angel* impressed on one Side of the Piece. And their Value was, at different Times :

| | | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Angels.</i> | 1 <i>H.</i> 6. | 00 | VI | VIII |
| | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | VII | VI |
| | 34 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | VIII | 00 |
| | 6 <i>E.</i> 6. | 00 | X | 00 |
| <i>Half-Angels.</i> | 5 <i>E.</i> 4. | 00 | III | IV |
| | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | III | IX |
| | 34 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | IV | 00 |
| | 6 <i>E.</i> 6. | 00 | V | 00 |

The Reader may perceive by this, that when he meets, in History, with the word *Angels*, *Half-Angels*, *Farthing-Angels*, or with any other Coin, he must observe what King's Reign he is in, to understand exactly what the Summ amounts to: for otherwise he will mistake. This I observe to him, once for all, and go on.

Angelets.

| | | | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------|-----------------|----|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Angelets. | 1 <i>H.</i> 6. | 00 | III | IV | |
| | 34 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | IV | 00 | |
| | 6 <i>E.</i> 6. | 00 | V | 00 | |

From hence it appears that *Angelets*, were the same with *Half-Angels*.

| | | | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|----|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| Crowns of the } Double Role. } | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | V | 00 | |
| Britain Crowns. | 1 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | V | 00 | |
| | 9 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | V | VI | |
| Double Crowns. | 1 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | X | 00 | |
| | 9 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | XI | 00 | |
| Thistle Crowns. | 1 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | IV | 00 | |
| | 9 <i>Fac.</i> 1. | 00 | IV | IV <i>ob. q.</i> | |
| Florens. | 18 <i>E.</i> 3. | 00 | VI | 00 | |

They were so call'd, because first made by *Florentines*, as *Mr. Cambden* says. *Fabian* says, that these were not of so fine Gold as his *Nobles*, and *Half-Nobles* were. But that which is more observable is, that he calls the *Floren*, a *Penny*, value VI *s.* VIII *d.* The *Half Floren* he calls a *Half-Penny*, value III *s.* IV *d.* The *Quarter-Floren* he calls a *Farthing*, val. I *s.* VIII *d.* And these Words you will often meet

with, in old Histories and Accompts, applied to several Coins, as *Rials*, *Angels*: Where you are to understand, by *Denarius*, the whole; by *Obolus*, the half; and by *Quadrans*, the fourth Part, or Farthing.

Thus, 1344, about this time, the *Noble*, *Obolus*, and *Farthing* of Gold, began to go about, saith *H. Knyton*.

| | | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|----------------|---|-----------|-----------|
| Forty-Pence } Pieces. } | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | III | IV |
| Guineas. 22 <i>C.</i> 2. | | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| | | [pass for 1 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> | | |
| <i>Moton</i> , 1358, a French } Piece of Gold, at } | | 00 | V. | 00 |

Noble. So call'd, because made of the noblest and purest Gold.

| | | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Noble</i> . | 18 <i>E.</i> 3. | 00 | VI | VIII |
| | 5 <i>E.</i> 4. | 00 | X | 00 |
| | 26 <i>Eliz.</i> | 00 | XV | 00 |
| <i>George Nobles</i> . | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | VI | 00 |
| <i>Double Nobles</i> . | 26 <i>Eliz.</i> | 01 | X | 00 |
| <i>Rials</i> , or } <i>Royals</i> . } | 1 <i>H.</i> 6. | 00 | X | 00 |
| | 1 <i>H.</i> 8. | 00 | XI | III |
| | 2 <i>Eliz.</i> | 00 | XV | 00 |
| <i>Rose Rials</i> . | 3 <i>Jac.</i> 1. | 01 | X | 00 |
| <i>Spur Rials</i> . | | 00 | XV | 00 |

There

There is, in Dr. *Kennet's Parochial Antiquities*, mention made of *Spurarium Aureum*, in *An. 1292*, or *Spur Royal*; but whether it were an *English Coin* or not, does not appear.

| | | l. | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----|----------------------|
| Scute, a French } Coin of Gold, } | 1427. | 00 | III | IV |
| | Sovereigns. 1 H. 8. | 01 | II | VI |
| | 34 H. 8. | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| | 4 E. 6. | 01 | IV | 00 |
| | 6 E. 6. | 01 | X | 00 <i>Old Stand.</i> |
| | ————— | 01 | 00 | 00 22 <i>Car.</i> |
| | | [<i>fine. 2 Car. Alloy.</i>] | | |
| | 2 Eliz. | <i>the same in both Cases.</i> | | |
| Unites. | 1 Jac. 1. | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| | 10 Jac. 1. | 01 | II | 00 |

Note, In 9 Jac. 1. by a Proclamation, Gold was raised 2 s. per Pound. Ch. the First brought it again to the Standard of 1 Jac. 1.

The following Table is collected out of Mr. *Lowndes's* Accounts, which, tho' they differ in some Points from Mr. *Stow's*, who also cites *Records* for some of them, I cannot chuse but prefer, because of his Abilities and Opportunities of giving them most perfect. Premising first, that

a Pound of Gold, *Troy-Weight*, was divided into 24 *Carats*; and each *Carat* into 4 *Grains*: And that the Old Standard of *England* was, 23 *Car.* 3 *Grains* and a half of fine Gold, and half a *Grain* of *Allay*, which might be *Silver* or *Copper*.

Fineness. Allay. Make in Silver.

| Years. | car. gr. | ca. gr. | l. | s. | d. | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------|----|----|----|------------------|
| 18 E. 3. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 15 | 00 | 00 | } The same Year. |
| | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 13 | 03 | 04 | |
| 20 E. 3. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 14 | 00 | 00 | |
| 27, 30, 37, | } 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 15 | 00 | 00 | |
| 46 E. 3. | | | | | | |
| 18 R. 2. | | | | | | |
| 3 H. 4. | | | | | | |
| 9 H. 5. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 16 | 13 | 04 | |
| 1 H. 6. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 22 | 10 | 00 | |
| 4 H. 6. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 16 | 13 | 04 | |
| * It should be 39 H. 6. | 49* H. 6. | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 22 | 10 | 00 | |
| | 5 E. 4. | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 22 | 10 | 00 | |
| 8, 11, 16, | } 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 22 | 10 | 00 | |
| 22 of E. 4. | | | | | | |
| 1 R. 3. | | | | | | |
| 9 H. 7. | | | | | | |
| 1 H. 8. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{1}{2}$ | 27 | 00 | 00 | |

Fineness.

Fineness. Allay. Make in Silver.

| Years. | car. gr. | ca. gr. | l. | s. | d. |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|------|------|------|
| <i>the same Ye.</i> | 22 00 | 2 0 | 25 | 02 | 06 |
| 34 H. 8. | 23 00 | 1 0 | 28 | 16 | 00 |
| 36 H. 8. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 30 | 00 | 00 |
| 37 H. 8. | 20 00 | 4 0 | 30 | 00 | 00 |
| 1 E. 6. | 20 00 | 4 0 | 30 | 00 | 00 |
| 3 E. 6. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 34 | 00 | 00 |
| 4 E. 6. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 28 | 16 | 00 |
| 6 E. 6. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 00 | 00 |
| 6 E. 6. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 33 | 00 | 00 |
| 1 Mary | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 00 | 00 |
| 2 Eliz. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 00 | 00 |
| 2 Eliz. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 33 | 00 | 00 |
| 19 Eliz. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 00 | 00 |
| 43 Eliz. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 10 | 00 |
| 43 Eliz. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 33 | 10 | 00 |
| 1 Jac. I. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 37 | 10 | 00 |
| 3 Jac. I. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 40 | 10 | 00 |
| 10 Jac. I. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 44 | 00 | 00 |
| 10 Jac. I. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 40 | 18 | 04 |
| 2 Car. I. | 23 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 44 | 10 | 00 |
| 2 Car. I. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 41 | 00 | 00 |
| 12 Car. 2. | 22 00 | 2 0 | 44 | 10 | 00 |
| 1 Jac. 2. | } 22 00 | } 2 0 | } 44 | } 10 | } 00 |
| W. & Mar. | | | | | |
| Q. Anne. | | | | | |

So that the same Pound of Gold which in 18 E. 3. 1344, was worth 13, or 14, or 15 Pound in Silver, is risen, by degrees, to go for 44 *l.* 10 *s.* 00 *d.* and the Gold not quite so fine neither. But if a Penny then, was worth our 3 Pence, and XX *s.* worth our LX *s.* then Gold and Silver have kept, pretty near, the same Proportion to each other; for three times 15 *l.* make 45 *l.* which is but X *s.* more than a Pound of Gold now goes at.

C H A P. III.

An Account of Silver Money.

A Pound, *Libra*, contains 12 Ounces; and tho' now it signifies XX s. (when applied to *Money*) which is but the 3d. Part of a Pound in *Weight*, yet it is because XX s. did heretofore weigh a full Pound, or 12 Ounces. Each of these Ounces contained so many *Solidi* or Shillings, and so many *Denarii* or Pence, as they who govern'd the Money-Matters thought fit; sometimes more, and sometimes fewer. Dr. *Hicks*, in his most learned, useful, and laborious Work (much to his own, and to the Nations Honour) tells us, pag. III. *Dissert. Epistol.* that the Saxon Pound contain'd LX Shillings. For this, he cites a Passage out of the *Textus Roffensis*; *Ceorles Wergyld is Myrcnalage CC Scill. Thegenes Weregylde is six swa micel; that byth XII hundred Scill. Thonne bith Cyninges anseald Wergylde, six Thegena Wergylde, be Myrcanalage; that is XXX thousand Sceata; that bith ealles CXX Punda.* The English of which is, A Charles Weregylde is, by Mercian-Law

Law, 200 Shillings. A Thaines Weregild is six times as much, *i. e.* 1200 Shil. And the King's single Weregild is as much as the Weregild of six Thains; that is 30000 Sceata. Which is in all 120 Pound.

The very same Words we find at the End of King *Æthelstane's* Laws, put out by Mr. *Lambard*; and afterwards by Mr. *Whelock* at Cambridge, 1644. pag. 56. excepting that it is said here, that a *Ceorles Weregild* is 266 *Thrimfa*, which make 200 *Shillings*, and then goes on, as above; now if a *Churles Weregild* be 200 *s.* and a *Thains* 1200 *s.* and a King's six times as much, *i. e.* 7200 *s.* and this last Summ make but CXX Pound, it will follow, that there must go LX *s.* to the Pound, because 120 multiplied by 60, produces 7200 *s.* But if, as is here said, 266 *Thrimfa* make 200 *Shillings*, and (as is said in the same place, pag. 55.) that a King's Weregild is among the English 30 Thousand *Thrimfa*: then there will be found in 30000 *Thrimfæ*, just 22400 *s.* and 208 *Thrimfæ* remaining, which will make above 373 *l.* tho' you should allow 60 *s.* to the Pound; which is near to 3 times the Summ it ought to be. And if *Thrimfa* be (as that learned Person
con-

concludes) 4 d. of Saxon Money, then thirty thousand *Thrimfæ* will make 400 l. allowing 60 s. to each Pound, which is more than 3 times 120 l. so that nothing can be done with *Thrimfa*, if 266 of them make 200 s. Now if we will allow but of a Mistake (not great in it self) of CXX for CL, all things will go well, and the Saxon Pound will continue, as it has all along been counted, to be made up of 48 Shillings: for 150 multiplied by 48, makes just 7200 s. which is the King's *Weregyl*d. There is also Reason to believe, that in King *Cnute's* Time (who reign'd from 1017, to 1035,) the Saxon Pound continued at 48 s. because in his 3d Law, it is said that he who breaks the Kings Peace in a *Head Church*, is to forfeit V l. If in a *Second Rate Church*, 120 s. If in a *less Church*, (but where there is a Church-Yard or Burying Place) 60 s. If in a *Country Church* (*Feld Cyric*) where there is no Church-Yard, 30 s. Here you see there is a gradual Diminution of the Mulct, V l. 120, 60, 30, s. from whence I conclude that V l. was just double to 120 s. that is, it was 240 s. which will make V l. at 48 s. the Pound; and it will not be double to 120 s. by any other Reckoning. To this, let me add, that
Mr.

Mr. *Gambden*, Sir *H. Spelman*, in his *Glossary*, and Mr. *Lambard* in his, do all of them agree, that the Saxon Pound was made up of 48 s. and give no Intimation that it was ever otherwise, either more or less. I do not pretend, however, that Dr. *Hicks* has not other Authorities, besides what is above-cited, for what he affirms; for he is so well skilled in these Matters, and has taken so much Pains in them, that he is not likely to say a Thing that seems so new, without good Reason. Let it then be said, that a Saxon Pound, did sometimes contain LX s. but generally 48 s. and each Shilling contained 5 d. so that a Pound, or *Libra Anglo-Saxonica*, contained 240 d. How long it continued thus, I cannot tell exactly, but in the Laws, which are called King *Edward's*; 31. it is said, *In Danelega*, the Forfeiture for Breach of Peace, was VIII l. which was raised by the *Hundred*. Of this VIII l. the King received 100 s. the Sheriff 50 s. and the Bishops *Decanus* (in whose Deanry the Peace was broken) the other 10 s. From whence it is clear, that VIII l. contained 160 s. which is 20 s. per Pound. But because 'tis manifest, from the 3d Law, that this Collection of *Edward's* Laws was made after *W. Rufus's*

fus's Time (since there is mention made of him, by Name, in it) it will be better to say, that the Pound contain'd XX s. in *William the Conqueror's* Time; because in the IVth of his Laws, *In Lege Danorum, foris factura est VIII lib. XX Solidi pro Capite, & VII libræ Regi.* In *Danelagh*, the Forfeiture is 8 l. 20 s. for the Head, and 7 l. for the King. And in 79 of *H. I. Infractio Pacis Regis V lib. in Anglorum Lege. Media L s. & adhuc minoris, ubi parva Parochia est, & Atrium cum sit XXV s. & Campestris Capellæ, ubi non sit Atrium, XII s. VI d.* which is King *Cnutè's* Law (above-recited) turn'd into *Latin*, and the Rates reduced to the Money then current: which confirms my Conjecture, that V l. was, there, double to 120 s. because it is here double to 50 s. And whoever looks into the Laws of King *Ina*, *Alfred*, and others, and finds the same Proportions of 120, 60, & 30 s. so oft observed in the Fines or Forfeitures of Offenders, will be apt to conclude that the Pound was then 48 s.

There is also some dispute, whether the Pound was made up of 12, or of 15 Ounces. In the 30th of King *Ethelred's* Laws (as they are in *J. Brompton*) you will find these Words; *Let those who over-*
look

look the Ports, see, that every Weight at the Market, be the Weight by which my Money is received, and let each of them be marked, so that 15 Oræ make a Pound. And in Sir H. Spelman's Glossary, you will find that Ora signifies *Uncia*, and so in other learned Authors. But the same most learned Knight tells us, that Ora was also a Piece of Money, valued 16 d. for which he cites this Passage. *Plac. coram Rege T. Mich. 37. H. 3. Rot. 4. The Men of Berkeholt, Com. Suffolc. say, that in the time of King Henry, the Grand-Father of our present Lord the King, they had a Custom, that when they would marry out their Daughters, they were wont to pay, for Leave so to do, 2 Oræ, which are valued at 32 d. Now 15 Oræ make just a Saxon Pound, 48 s. or 15 times 16 Oræ make 240 d. There is therefore no need of saying that Ora signifies an Ounce in King Ethelred's Law, nor in the same Law renewed by King Cnute, (but which ought to be corrected by the Law of Ethelred, for instead of *ad Mercatum*, it is corruptly written *admetatum*.) Mr. Somner indeed (to whose Judgment great regard is to be had in all these Matters) is of the Opinion, that there was never any such Piece of Money as an Ora, but that it always signifies an Ounce,*

of

of which he says there were two sorts, the one containing 16 *Den.* the other 20, (of which there is so frequent mention made in the *Dooms-day-Book*) which was called *the greater Ounce*. But then he agrees that there were but 12 Ounces in the Pound, which can hardly be reconciled with *Ethelred's Law*. For if 15 *Oræ* are to make a Pound, and *Ora* be an Ounce, there will unavoidably be 15 Ounces in the Pound. And besides, he afterwards observes (from Mr. *Cambden*, out of *Registr. Burton*) that 20 *Oræ* are said to be of equal value with 2 *Marks* of Silver. Now a *Mark* is 8 Ounces, (when XX s. make a Pound in weight) and 2 *Marks* are 16 Ounces (which he values at XXVI s. VIII d.) and if 20 *Oræ* be 20 Ounces (as they must, if *Ora* be necessarily an Ounce) then 20 Ounces, are of equal value with 16 Ounces; which may be true of the *Pence* that are made of an Ounce, but can hardly be true of the Name or Denomination of an Ounce. 12 Ounces, indeed, of 20 d. are equal to 15 Ounces of 16 d. But he who says that 12 Ounces are equal to 15 Ounces, must understand something which his words do neither express nor imply. It will never therefore be true, that *Ora* should always

D

signifie

signifie an Ounce; that there should be 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, and yet that there should be but 12 Ounces in the Pound. Whenever therefore it is said, that there are 12 *Oræ* in a Pound, there *Ora* is 20 *d.* Whenever there are 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, then *Ora* is 16 *d.* *Verelius* in his *Lexicon Scandicum*, says, *Ore, Solidus, & tertia pars Solidi.* And *Dolmerus* (as he is cited by *Du Fresne*) says, *Ora, vernacula Aura, Danis Ore, fuit olim genus monetæ, valens 15 Minuta.* Which would make one think it a Denomination of *Money*, rather than of *Weight*.

It was a good Law of King *Edgar*, that there should be the same *Money*, the same *Weight*, and the same *Measures*, throughout the Kingdom: but it was never well observed. What can be more vexatious and unprofitable, both to Men of Reading and of Practice, than to find, that when they go out of one County, into another, they must learn a new Language, or cannot buy or sell any Thing? An *Acre* is not an *Acre*; nor a *Bushel* a *Bushell*, if you travail but ten Miles. A *Pound* is not a *Pound*, if you go from a *Goldsmith* to a *Grocer*; nor a *Gallon* a *Gal-lon*, if you go from the *Ale-House* to the *Tavern*. What Purpose does this Variety serve,

serve, or what Necessity is there, which the Difference of *Price* would not better answer and supply? 'Tis impossible to fix the *Price* of an *Acre* of Land, or of a *Quarter* of Wheat, because Land is much better in one Country than another, and because the *Price* of Corn will depend upon the Plenty or the Scarcety of it, and that upon the Goodness or the Badness of the Soil and Seasons. But it is possible to determine how many *Feet*, or *Yards*, length and breadth, an *Acre* shall contain, in all Places alike; and possible to determine how many *Quarts* a *Bushel*, and how many *Bushel* a *Quarter* shall contain, so that every Body shall know these Things alike, and neither be mistaken nor imposed upon. These things, I know, have (some of them) been determin'd by Laws; but Custom and Folly have made those Laws useless. And the Trouble that such Variety, hath often given to me, as well as others, will justify this Digression. From which I now return to speak of *Libra Anglo Normanica*; which contained XXs. and each Shilling contain'd, sometimes 16 *d.* but generally 20 *d.* made out of an Ounce. The *Libra Denariorum*, and the *Libra Sterlingorum* are the same; their Ounce containing

taining 20 *d.* and in that they agree with the *Saxon* Pound, tho' they differ in the Number of Shillings. *M. Du Fresne* (not to be named without Honour) in *Libra Gallica*, says, a Penny is the 20th Part of an Ounce; and that 12 *d.* make a Shilling, and 3 Ounces make 5 *s.* 'tis therefore the same with *Libra Anglo-Normannica*. You will see hereafter in the *Table*, how the Pound differed, by being divided into more or fewer Shillings. I need not observe to you, I think, that there was never any coined Piece of Silver, that either weighed, or was called a *Pound*.

The next Denomination of Money, you will often meet with, is a *Mark*, which the *Saxons* call *Mancus*, *Mancusa*, *Mearc*, &c. and amongst them it came to XXX *d.* which was, of their Money, VI *s.* Thus in the Laws of *H. I. c. 35.* it is said, *XX Mancæ quæ faciunt Solidos L.* Now you will wonder that 20 times 6 *s.* (*i. e.* 120 *s.*) should make but 50 *s.* unless you remember that the 120 are *Anglo-Saxonic* Shillings, and the 50 are *Anglo-Norman* ones, and that each of them contain alike 600 Pence. Thus C 69. *Debet reddi, secundum Legem, XXX s. ad manbotam; idem hodie quinque Marcæ.*

Here

Here both the XXX s. and the *quinque Marcæ* are *Saxonic*. for there are 5 times 6 in 30. And so again, *De Twelfhinds*, i. e. *Thaino*, 120 s. *qui faciunt 20 Marcas*. In c. 34. *Erga Hundredum XXX s. & V Denar. qui faciunt V Mancas, ut Solidus den. XII. compuetur*. Which brings the Mark to VI s. 1 d. In the 76 c. a Mark is but 4 s. 6 d. but I doubt not but it is a mistake; and, indeed, those Laws, as we have them now, are full of mistakes: It is great pity Mr. *Somner's* Corrections, Annotations, and Glossary upon them, are not published, but lie obscurely in a private Library: the Labours of so faithful and judicious an Antiquary are well worth the Cost that any noble Lover of this sort of Learning would be at in making them Publick, and would pay him with ample Praise and Honour. When a Mark came to be valued at XIII s. IIII d. I cannot tell with any exactness, but *M. Paris* in the Life of *Guarinus Abb.* of *S. Albans*, in *An.* 1194, and in 1235, tells us that a Mark was then (1194) 13 s. 4 d. and so it has continued to this Day, without any variation: how long before that, appears not. I must also observe here, that there never was any such Piece of Silver as a Mark coin'd; and I cannot

find any mention made of any such Piece of *Gold*, since the *Norman Conquest*; tho' probably there was, before, among the *Saxons*, with some Mark or Signature upon it, for the English word to *mark*, does probably come from it, or that from the Verb.

Angel. There was never any such Piece of Silver coined; but because the Golden Piece of that Name, was valued at X s. therefore X s. is called an *Angel*. And so it is with the word

Noble. Which goes for VI s. VIII d. in Accounts: but there has not been any such Piece of Gold coined, at that Price, since the 9 H. 5. and when they were first coined by E. 3. 1344, they seem not to have been very acceptable to the Nation, for thus H. Knyton, pag. 2484. represents the Matter. *About this time the Noble, Obolus, and Ferthing of Gold, began to go about, in the Kingdom; upon which, the Parliament ordained, that none of the Commons should be compelled in any Payments, to take above XX s. of this new Money.* This was not, because the Gold was not good (for it was very fine, and of the *Old Standard*) but because (as I imagine) poor People could not get it easily changed into Silver, and so would be

be distressed; for at this time there were no Silver Coins, but *Pence*, and *Half-pence*, and *q* it being at the soonest, 5 Years before there were any *Groats* or *Half-Groats* coined: which was about 1349. I shall lose half a dozen Lines of my *Common-Place-Book*, if I may not, under this Head tell you, that in *An.* 1389, there were seven Coiners condemned and hanged, for bringing a *Noble* (not to 9 Pence, but) to X s. making thence 6 *Quadrantes*, or Farthings. A *Noble* of right contained 80 d. the *Obolus*, or Half contained 40 d. and the *Quadrans* or Farthing contained 20 d. But by these false Coiners, a *Noble* was brought to 120 d. the *Ob.* to 60 d. and the *Qu.* to 30 d. so that there were 2 *Quadrantes*, above the 4 good ones; which was their Profit. *Ed.* 4. raised the *Noble* from VI s. VIII d. to X s. which, tho' it was good Gold, and called by another Name (a *Rial*) yet was not well accepted, but thought to be to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth; but, for what Reason I know not.

A **Crown**. The first *Silver* Coin of the value of V s. (that I can observe) was in *Ed.* VI. Days; the *Name* is old, but then it was always Gold.

Half-Crowns. Of the same Date with *Crowns*, and never before.

Shillings, Solidus. The *Latin* word is of most uncertain signification, and to be determined by every particular Nation: but the word *Scylling* or *Shilling*, never signified in *England*, but 5 Pence, with the *Saxons*, and 12 *d.* ever since: when it went for 12 *d.* at first, is hard to say. But, as common as this word is, in all Books, and all Accompts, yet there was never (that appears) any Piece of Silver of that Denomination coined in *England* till the Year 1504, when *Fabian* says, *A new Coin of Silver Groats, and Half-Groats, and Shillings with half-faces, was made.* *Stow* says, in the same Year, *A new Coin was by Parliament appointed, i. e. Groat and Half-Groat, which bare but half-faces. The same time also was coined a Groat, which was in value 12 d. but of these but a few were coined.* He does not call them *Shillings*, but *Fabian* does, and he lived at that very time, and was an observing Citizen. However, the Name does not appear, in *Mr. Lowndes's* Accounts, till a great while after. But *Stow* says, 6 *E. 6.* *there were coin'd, a Piece of Silver of V s. a 2d. Piece of II s. VI d. a 3d Piece of a Shilling; a 4th VI d. and of smaller Money,*

ney, a Penny of the Double Rose, not Sterling but base; a Half-Penny of the Single Rose; and a Farthing with a Portclose. Also in 34 H. 8. there were coin'd Testons of 12 d. but not called Shillings. 13 d. ob. 9 d. and 4 d. ob. were all Pieces that came from Scotland in the Reign of Jac. 1. (tho' some of them were coin'd in England) and therefore I meddle not with them.

Testons. Or, as we commonly call them, *Testers*, from a *Head* that was upon them, were coin'd (as is before said) 34 H. 8. Sir *H. Spelman* says, they are a *French* Coin, of the value of 18 d. and he does not know, but they might have gone for as much in *England*. He says it was *Brass*, and covered over with *Silver*, and went in H. 8. Days for 12 d. but 1 Ed. 6. it was brought down to 9 d. and then to 6 d. (which still retains the Name) and in An. 1559 to 4 d. ob. *Stow* says there was a second sort of *Testons*, which in 1559 was cried down to 2 d. q. And a third sort that was made unpassable at any Rate. 'Tis certain there were very good ones coined in E. 6. Time; and they have still continued under all Princes, under the same Name, and are the usefullest Pieces we have.

Coats.

Groats. See of them, under a *Penny*. *Grossus* signifies *great*; and a *Groat* was a *great* Piece with respect to a *Penny*, which was but a 4th Part, and the greatest Piece (in all likelyhood) then coin'd.

Three-Pence. No mention made of them till 1561, when Queen *Elizabeth* coin'd them, with 6 *d.* 4 *d.* 2 *d.* 1 *d.* 1 *ob.* and *ob. q.* Pieces, and called in all the base Money in the Kingdom; and set our Coin upon that noble Foot on which it now stands; which, because it was of the greatest Benefit to the Nation, is one of the greatest Glories of her Reign; for those are the truest and most lasting Honours, that are built upon the Publick Good, procured or preserved by Princes.

Penny, Denarius, was the *first* coined Piece of Silver we have notice of, and, for many Years the *only* one; in *H. 1.* Days 'tis certain there were *Half-Pence*; and 9 *Ed. 3. cap. 3.* 'tis enacted, That no *Sterling* (*i. e.* *Penny*) *Half-Penny*, nor *Farthing*, should be melted down by the Goldsmiths; which is a good Proof, that there were, at that time (which was *An. 1335*) no other Pieces of Silver coined. And 4 *H. 4.* it was enacted, That one *Third* of the Silver coined, should be
coined

coined into Half-Pence, and Farthings. A *Penny* was indeed so much the Whole of the currant Coin of the Kingdom, that *Denarius* was the same thing with *Nummus*, or Money: And therefore *Simeon Dunelm*, 1126, says, the Men that were found to have made false *Money*, i. e. *Denarii* not of pure Silver, were hanged. And (when it is any determined Summ that is spoken of) *Nummus* does generally signifie a *Penny*. So Mr. *Westm. An.* 1095, says, that tho' there were more than 300000 Men marching to the *Holy Land*, yet Provision was so plentiful that a *Ram* was sold at a *Penny* (*uno Nummo*) and an *Ox* at (*12 Nummis*) *12 d.* Dr. *Hicks* (in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 109.) says, that the *Anglo Saxons*, had but *one* Silver Coin among them, and that was a *Penny*. So says Mr. *Cambden*, Sir *H. Spelman*, and most of our good Antiquaries. And therefore when we find the honest and industrious Mr. *Speed*, in his *Chronicle*, gives us the *Three-Pences* of so many *Saxon Kings*, from *Cheuline* and *Egbert*, *An.* 562, down to *Ed. the Confessor*, the *Two-Pence* of *Harold*. And again, the *Three-Pences* of *W. Con.* *W. 2.* *H. 1.* *Stephen*, *H. 2.* *John*, *H. 3.* and a *Two-Pence* of *R. 1.* and that from the Treasury of that

that noble Antiquary Sir *R. Cotton* we have leave (for many Reasons) to think him mistaken; since in our Histories we find no mention of any such Pieces as *Three-Pences*, before the beginning of *Eliz.* The *Present State of England* (which is an excellent Book, and to whose Perfection every One should contribute, because it gives an Account of all our Affairs, both to Foreigners, and Natives) is also to be corrected in this Particular, when it says, that *in Ed. I. time 4 d. 3 d. and 2 d. were coin'd*, which certainly is not true. But all the Observations I shall make on the *Penny*, will be bestowed, in some few Notes, upon a Passage, which I have transcribed from Mr. *Stow* in the Year 1279, as follows.

‘ Whereas, before this time, the Penny
 ‘ was wont to have a double Cross with
 ‘ a Crest, in such sort that the same
 ‘ might be easily broken in the midst, or
 ‘ into four quarters, and so to be made
 ‘ into Half-Pence, or Farthings; which
 ‘ Order was taken in the Year of Christ
 ‘ 1106, the 7 *H. I.* It was now (*a*) or-
 ‘ dained, that Pence, Half-Pence, and
 ‘ Farthings, should be made Round;
 ‘ whereupon were made these Verses fol-
 ‘ lowing.

‘ Edward

- ' Edward did smite Round, Penny, Half-
 ' Penny, Farthing,
 ' The Crosse passes the bond of all, through-
 ' out the Ring :
 ' The Kings side, was his head and his
 ' Name written (b)
 ' The Crosse side, what City it was in
 ' coyned and smitten.
 ' To Poor man, ne to Priest, the Penny
 ' frayses nothing,
 ' Men give God, ay, the least ; they feast
 ' him with a farthing.
 ' A thousand, two hundred, fourscore
 ' years, and mo,
 ' On this Money men wondred, when it
 ' first began to goe.

' And besides these Moneys, there was
 ' coined Groats (c) containing 4 d. the
 ' Piece (for what follows, he quotes Re-
 ' gistr. of Bury) the Pound of Esterling
 ' Money, at this time, containing 12
 ' Ounces ; to wit, fine Silver (such as
 ' Men make into Foyle or Leaves, and is
 ' commonly called Silver of Gutherom
 ' Lane) 11 Ounces, 2 Esterlings (d) and
 ' one Ferling (e) and the other 17 d. ob. q.
 ' to be Allay. Also the Pound ought to
 ' weigh of Money XX s. and III d. by Ac-
 compt:

- ' compt: so that no Pound ought to be
- ' above 20 s. 4 d. nor less than 20 s. 2 d.
- ' by Accompt. The Ounce is to weigh
- ' 20 d. the Penny to weigh 24 Grains (f).

Thus far Mr. *Stow*; to which let me add to the Passages that are mark'd, as follows.

(a) It should seem by these Words, that Pence and Half-Pence were not *Round*, before this Year 1279, but they were certainly *Round* in *H. I.* time. For in 1108, *Sim. Dunelm* says, *the King appointed the Pence and Half-Pence should be all Round.* And in 1180, *Philip Aymary of Tours* was sent for, to new coin the Money; which was done, and made all *Round*, as saith *Radulf de Diceto*. But, it may be, that *Ed. I.* was the first that appointed *Farthings* should be coin'd (like *Pence* and *Half-Pence*) *Round.* *Tho. Walsingham* 1280, and *H. Knighton*, p. 2678, agree with Mr. *Westm.* in 1279, to say the same thing; that because the Penny was broken in half, to make 2 *Oboli*, and the *Oboli* again broken in halves, to make 4 *Quadrantes* or *Farthings*, it was ordained to coin the *Oboli*, and *Quadrantes*, *Round*; so that the Opportunity of cutting from each *Ob.* or *Quadr.* was taken away.

away. And yet the same *T. Walsingham* in 1278, represents Matters as if the *Obolus* had been distinctly coined, before this, in the Shape of a *Semicircle*. *Obolus qui prius formam habebat Semicirculi, tanquam pars Denarii in medio divisi, fit rotundus*. Whereas, in truth, whenever it was in this Shape, it was certainly one half of a *Penny*, broken in sunder.

(*b*) *Name written*. The Name of the King was indeed written, whether *Will. Henricus, Ricardus, or Edwardus*: But no Body, from thence, can tell whether it were *W. I. or II. Hen. I, II, III, IV, V, VI. or Ed. I, II, III, IV.* and, as far as I could ever find, *H. VII.* was the first that was to be certainly known by that Distinction, whose Name I have seen mark'd on a Silver Groat, *Henric. VII.* But in this I may be mistaken, having not seen all Coins, and yet enow to venture this Remark.

(*c*) *Groats*. This is the first time, that I have seen *Groats* mentioned to be coin'd, in 1279. And tho' I never suspect *Mr. Stow's* Faithfulness, or Industry, yet I believe he was here mistaken; as well, because in 9 *E. 3.* no mention is made of them, when Pence and Half-Pence are forbidden to be melted by the Gold-mith, *fine:*

since the same Reason would have forbidden the melting down *Groats* (as afterwards was done 17 R. 2.) which forbid the melting the others; as also because that Coin appears not in Mr. *Lowndes's* Accounts, before the 27 E. 3. which was in 1353, tho' *Tho. Walsingham* mentions them in 1351, but he seems not to have known there were ever any such Pieces before that Year: For in that Year, he says, that, *Wm. Edington Bp. of Winton, and L. Treasurer, a Man of great Prudence, but one who consulted more the King's Profit, than that of the Kingdom, found out, and coin'd new Pieces; i. e. Grossum & dimidium Grossi. Groats and Half-Groats, but of less weight than they ought to have been. i. e. I suppose, they weighed not as much as 4 Penny's.* After this, we meet with the Name often, and most commonly applied to 4 *d.* tho' (as I think) sometimes to more than 4 *d.* You may also see that 2 *d.* was not called by the name *Two-Pence*, but a *Half-Groat*, or *Half-Groz.* And in 19 H. 7. *Half-Groats* are called *Pence of Two-Pence.* *H. Knyton* mentions *Grossa* in 1378, and says it was 4 *d.* and so much was given to the King for every Man and Woman.

(d) *Ester-*

(d) *Esterlings*. Here *Sterling* signifies a *Penny-weight*, because it signifies a *Penny* of fine Silver, which is now called *Standard*. And I have never, but once, seen *Sterling* (when it signifies a Piece of Money) stand for any thing but a *Penny*, and that is, in *Monasticon Angl.* 2. Vol. p. 471. where it signifies a *Half-Penny*: For there it is said, that *Hens* were a *Sterling* a-piece; not in express Words, but by Consequence; for it is there said, that Wheat was 2 s. the Quarter; and that the 6th Part of a Bushel of Wheat was valued at a *Sterling*; now the Bushel is valued at 3 d. (when the Quarter is at 2 s.) and the 6th Part of 3 d. is a *Half-Penny*; and so *Sterling* must be there a *Half Penny*. This was occasioned by *Ed. 1.* calling in *Pollards*, *Crocards*, or *Cocodones*, and *Rosary's*; all which were coined, and brought into *England* by Foreigners, and underhand went for *Sterlings*, (i. e. for Pence,) but in the Year 1301, were suffered to go but for *Oboli*, or *Half-Pence*; and that not long neither: for at *Christmasts* they were called in, and made *Oboli*; and at *Easter* following they were cried down quite: But Corruptions are not so easily parted with; they went currant among the Peo-

ple longer, and retained still the name of *Sterlings*, tho' they went for but *Half-Pence*. *H. Knyghton*, p. 2493.

(e) *Ferling*, is a *Farthing*, or the 4th Part of a *Sterling*.

(f) The *Penny-weight* is here said to contain 24 Grains; and so it does to this Day. Yet *Tho. Rudborn*, in *Hist. Maj. Winton. Anglia Sacra*, V. I. p. 257. says it was determined by *W. Conq.* 1083, that a *Penny Sterling*, round and unclipp'd, was to weigh 32 Grains. However, we are sure it was so determin'd by Act of Parl. 51 *H.* 3. and so again, 12 *H.* 7. *That every Sterling shall weigh 32 Grains of Wheat, that grew in the midst of the Ear of Wheat; and a Standard for the King's Treasury is to be made according to this Affize.* To reconcile this Difference, 'tis probable, that 24 Grains, as they are Weights to weigh by, may be truly as heavy, as 32 Grains of Wheat; which is as much as the Acts of Parliament require; and it would have been troublesome, to have made a Brass Weight, no heavier than the 32d Part of a Penny.

Obolus. Signifies an Half-Penny, or (as you have seen before) the half of any Thing. And as *Denariatus Terræ* signifies a *Perch* of Land (or let it be any

any other Measure, or Quantity) so *Obolatus Terræ* signifies *half* that Land; and a *Farthing* (called also *Fardella*, *Farding-vela*, *Farundel*, and other Names, which you may see in *S. H. Spelman's Gloss.*) signifies a *quarter* of it. So *Acra*, an Acre of Land, contains (like a Mark in Money) 60 *Den.* 320 *Ob.* and 640 *Quadrantes*. I cannot find, when *Obolus*, Half-Penny, was first coined: but we may imagine it was coined, as early as ever we can find it mentioned, because it is not a Denomination, which may be answered by other Money (as a *Pound* by 20 *s.* if there had been any Shillings, or a Mark, by 13 *s.* 4 *d.* or a Shilling by 12 Pence) but it must be a distinct coin'd Piece. And so for

Ferlingus, or *Farthing*. I shall make an end when I have observed to you, that when you meet, in old Donations, with such words as *Librata Terræ*, *Marcata*, *Solidata*, or *Denariata*, and the like, you are to understand as much Land as will yield the Rent of a *Pound*, a *Mark*, a *Shilling*, or a *Penny*, by the Year.

Here follows a TABLE, by which you will perceive into how many *Shillings*, a Pound-weight of Silver has, at several times, been coin'd; together with its Allay, and what the Ounce was worth in common Estimation.

| Years. | Finen. | | Allay. | | Shillings. | | The Ounce worth. | |
|----------|--------|-----|--------|--------|------------|----|------------------|------------------|
| | oz. | dw. | oz. | dw. | s. | d. | l. | s. |
| 28 E. 1. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XX | III | 0 | I | 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| 20 E. 3. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXII | VI | 0 | I | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 27 E. 3. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXV | | 0 | 2 | I |
| 9 H. 5. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXX | | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 1 H. 6. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXXVII | VI | 0 | 3 | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 4 H. 6. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXX | | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 24 H. 6. | 11 | 20 | 18 | XXX | | 0 | 2 | 6 |

And thus it continued all the Reign of E. 3. R. 2. H. 4. till 9 H. 5.

Fabian says, 23 E. 3. that he coin'd Groats and Half-Groats that wanted 2 s. 6 d. of the Old Standard, in a Pound *Troy*. This was in 1349, or 1350, but it is a Year, or two, too soon.

Years.

| Years. | Finen. | Alloy. | Shillings. | the Ounce worth. | | |
|---------------------------|---------|---------|------------|------------------|----|-----------------|
| | oz. dw. | oz. dw. | s. | d. l. | s. | d. |
| 49(39) H. 6 | II 2 0 | 18 | XXXVII | VI 0 | 3 | I $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 5, 8, 11, 16, 24 E. 4. | II 2 0 | 18 | XXXVII | VI 0 | 3 | I $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| I R. 3. | | | | | | |
| 9 H. 7. | | | | | | |
| I H. 8. | II 2 0 | 18 | XXXXV | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 34 H. 8. | 10 0 2 | 0 | XXXXVIII | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 36 H. 8. | 6 0 6 | 0 | XXXXVIII | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 37 H. 8. | 4 0 8 | 0 | XXXXVIII | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| I E. 6. | 4 0 8 | 0 | XXXXVIII | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 3 E. 6. | 6 0 6 | 0 | LXXII | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 5 E. 6. | 3 0 9 | 0 | LXXII | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 6 E. 6. | II 1 0 | 19 | LX | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Q. Mary | II 0 1 | 0 | LX | 0 | 5 | 0 |

(In reality fine Silver, 4 s. 9 d. half-penny the Ounce.

In reality to 8 s. the Ounce.

In reality to 12 s. the Ounce.

In reality to 12 s. the Ounce.

In reality to 12 s. the Ounce.

In reality to 1 l. 4 s. the Ounce.

| Years. | Finen. Alloy. | | Shillings. | | The Ounce worth. | | | |
|----------|---------------|---------|------------|----|------------------|----|----|--|
| | oz. dw. | oz. dw. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. | |
| 2 Eliz. | II | 20 18 | LX | | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| 19 Eliz. | II | 20 18 | LX | | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| 43 Eliz. | II | 20 18 | LXII | | 0 | 5 | 2 | |
| Jac. I. | | | | | | | | |
| Car. I. | | | | | | | | |
| Car. 2. | | | | | | | | |
| Jac. 2. | II | 20 18 | LXII | | 0 | 5 | 2 | |
| W. & M. | | | | | | | | |
| Q. Anne. | | | | | | | | |

I cannot leave this Head, till I have taken notice of one or two Specialties relating to Coin. The first is, that when Sir *Rob. Cotton* was called to deliver his Opinion, touching the *Alteration of the Coin*, before the Lords of the Privy-Council in 2 *Car. I.* he lays great load on the Reign of *H. VI.* for mismanagement of this Affair of Money, as if it had suffered some extraordinary Debasement, in his Time, and done him great Dishonour, and great Mischief in the Minds of his Subjects, and afforded his Rival (*Rich. D. of York*) an Occasion of high Complaint. And that when my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were called upon by Queen *Elizabeth*, to deliver their Opinions about the change of Money, they advised her to reduce the Standard to the ancient *Parity and Purity* of her Great-Grand-Father King *Ed. IV.* Upon this, I cannot but observe, that *H. V.* in the 9th of his Reign (according to Mr. *Lowndes's Accounts*) had raised the Money to XXX s. the Pound; and that *H. VI.* in the first of his Reign, advanced it to XXXVII s. VI d. but keeping still to the *Old Standard* of Fineness (without a change of which, all other Changes seem to be but merely

nominal; for 37 s. and 6 d. will buy no more Wheat, than 30 s. will do when once People come to know there is no more fine Silver in 37 s. 6 d. than in 30 s.) but even this Change continued not long, for 2 H. VI. c. 13. upon Complaint made in *Parliament*, that there was a scarcity of *white Money*, by reason that Silver uncoined was bought and sold at XXXII s. the *Pound Troy*; whereas it was of no more value, when coin'd, than XXXII s. (12 d. abated for the Coinage) it was enacted that none should buy or sell any Silver uncoined for above XXX s. the *Pound Troy*, besides the Fashion. I will not answer for the Reasonableness of this Act; but it proves clearly that the *Pound* did not long contain 37 s. 6 d. and it appears evidently, that 4 H. VI. it came again to XXX s. and so continued to the very last Year of his Reign, when it was again advanced to 37 s. 6 d. and so continued for near 50 Years. So that the greatest *Debasement* of King H. VI. was just equal to, and indeed the same with, the *Parity*, and *Purity* of King Ed. IV.

The greatest *Debasement* of Money, is the greatest *Allay*, or Mixture of baser Metal with Silver (and that is only bad, because People are deceived by its looks,
and

and know not how much fine Silver there is in such or such a Piece) and that was in 5 *Ed.* VI. when 9 Ounces of *Allay* were added to 3 Ounces of *fine Silver*, and coin'd into 72 Shillings; so that a Pound of fine Silver, at that rate of Mixture, was coin'd into 288 s. or 14 l. 8 s. 00 d. and the Ounce into 24 s. which was intollerable; and when in the Year following, this *Base Money* was called down, the People suffered extreamly by it. I have by me, now, an Account of that Time, wherein, by the *first* Proclamation (dated *July 9.*) a *College* lost (out of an 118 l. 6 s. 11 d.) 29 l. 11 s. 8 d. ob. q. And by the *second* Proclamation (dated *Aug. 17.* immediately following) out of 45 l. 3 s. the *College* lost 15 l. 1 s. which was a 4th and a 3d Part of every One's Cash, in the Space of two Months. It will be much for the Honour of *the late Reign*, to have remedied the greatest Abuse of Money, that was ever known in *England*, at a time of the greatest Danger and Expence, with very little Grievance of the People. But, sure, 'tis better to prevent a moderate Mischiefe, than redress a very great one; and, perhaps, a *Proclamation* of three or four Lines, forbidding any *clipped Money* to be

be received into the King's Exchequer, in 1690, would have prevented the clipping and spoiling 5 Millions. The *second* Thing I would observe, is, That an Historian who lived in the Days of *H. VI.* and *Ed. IV.* tells us, that such was the Enmity of the *House of York*, to that of *Lancaster*, that when *Ed. IV.* came to the Crown, not only all that was given and gotten, under the three foregoing Reigns of *Henry IV, V, VI.* was taken away; but that the *Money* also, as well *Gold*, as *Silver*, was changed and coined a-new, that the Name of *Henry* might be no more remembered. *Sed & Moneta tam in Auro, quam Argento, ut Nomen in ea prorsus deleatur Henrici, similiter mutata est, & denuo fabricata.* *Continuatio Hist. Croyland, An. 1461.* But Time hath made all even again, and left us as many Coins of the *Henry's*, as of *Edward* the IVth.

The last Thing I would observe to you is, That tho' (as you see in the Table) the *Pound* was sometimes 22 s. 6 d. 25 s. 30 s. 37 s. 6 d. 45 s. 48 s. 72 s. 60 s. and 62 s. as it now stands. Yet, in *Accounts*, it always signified 20 s. just, and neither more nor less. When the Pound contain'd (for Example) 30 s. he who owed another Man *Five Pounds*, did not pay

pay him 150 s. but an 100. And 'tis as certain that an 100 s. signified *five Pounds* at that time, and no less, as it does now. This must have been ever since XX s. came to *weigh*, and to be call'd, a *Pound*. And so it was with the *Saxon Pound*, that was always 48 s. And he who owed *five Pounds*, before the *Norman Times*, did certainly pay 240 s. which was, both in *Weight* and *Denomination*, five Pounds: Whereas five Pounds are now only so in *Name*, and not in *Weight*. Let me end this Chapter, with giving you the Names (from Mr. *Cambden*) of several false and small Pieces, that were heretofore in use among our Fathers. In the Time of *E. III.* *Crocards*, *Pollards*, *Rofaries*, *Cocadones*, *Steppings*, and *Staldings*, were cried down. *Gally-Half-Pence*, which were brought hither by the *Genoese Gallies*, cried down by *H. IV.* *Suskins* and *Dodkins* by *H. V.* and *Blanks* by *H. VI.* There were also little Pieces coined by *H. VII.* called *Dandypratts*, which, I suppose, were little and contemptible Things, because that Word has since been used to signifie small and worthless People.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, for 600 Years last past.

HAVING dispatch'd, with what *exactness* I could, the Chapters of *Moneys*, I am now come to speak to the Price of *Corn* and other *Commodities*; which is (whether you know it, or not) the readiest way to the Solution of your *Third*, and most material Question. For, your Business is to know (as near as you can) what Estate or Summ of Money will *now-a-days* be equal, or equivalent to *five Pounds* (let that be the supposed Summ in this Discourse) in the Reign of King *H. VI.* and to this End, your Care will be, to find out how much *Meat, Drink, or Cloth*, might be purchased in *H. VI.* Reign, with *V l.* and then to find

out,

out, how much of the Money now current, will be required to purchase the same quantity of *Meat, Drink,* and *Cloth*. For, since Money is of no other use, than as it is the Thing with which we purchase the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, 'tis evident, that if *V l* in *H. VI.* Days, would purchase 5 *Quarter of Wheat,* 4 *Hogsheds of Beer,* and 6 *Tards of Cloth,* he who then had *V l.* in his Pocket, was full as rich a Man as he who has now *XX l.* if with that *XX l.* he can purchase no more *Wheat, Beer,* or *Cloth,* than the other. I do not mean hereby to pre-judge this to be the Proportion; but use this Instance to let you see, that this is the properest way of coming to know, what Estate is *now* most answerable, to an Estate of *V l. per An. 250* Years ago. And tho' the comparing the Reign of

H. VI. with your own Times, would be sufficient for your particular Purpose; yet since I have made the same *Collectiōns*, for the Years foregoing, and for those which follow the Reign of *H. VI.* it will be (I believe) neither ungrateful nor unprofitable, to give them to the Reader; especially since other *Colleges*, which may be under the like Obligations, were founded, some *before*, and some *since*, the Reign of *H. VI.* It will be most for the Reader's Use, and Ease, that I set down the Particulars in *Order of Time*; and if he shall chance to judge many of them to be trivial (as some perhaps will judge them all to be) as standing by themselves, I desire him to consider, that, in conjunction with the rest, they may be of some Moment; and that others may like to see those very Particulars which he so lit-

tle esteems. As to the *Year of our Lord*, (into which I change the *Years of the Kings Reigns*) I will not pretend to be most exact; as well because I think it not much to the Purpose to be so, as also because each Year of a King's Reign, does unavoidably fall into two Years of *our Lord*, and if I hit either of them, or come very near them, it answers my Intention.

In King *Ina's* Laws, which were made betwixt 712, and 727, it is said, *Ovis cum Agno suo valet unum Solidum, usque ad XIII Noctes post Pascha*. A Ewe, with her Lamb, is worth one Shilling, till 13 Nights after Easter. *Bromton. Chr. 766.* but instead of 13, it should be 14, as it is in the *Saxon* of Mr. *Lambard*.

Between the Years 900, and 1000, *Ednoth* bought 2 Hydes of Land at *Stapleford* (in *Bedfordshire*) for C. Shil.

of the best Silver, and gave them to *Ramsley Abby*. D. *Gale's Hist. Ramsf.* 415. and p. 471. *Hist. Eliens.* a *Palsry* was at X s. which was about the Year 966. And p. 473. an Acre of Land was purchased at 1 s. and a Hyde at C. s. from whence one might think, that a Hyde contained an 100 Acres, but it contained 120 Acres. And, once for all, you will do well to remember, that a *Hyde*, a *Tard-Land*, and a *Knight's Fee*, contains no certain Number of Acres, but differs according to different Places; as you may see in the *Glossary's*.

In the *Senatus Consulta de Monticolis*, in the Time of King *Ethelred*, about the Year 1000, if a Horse be lost, the Compensation must be 30 s. A Mare, or Colt of a Year old, 20 s. A Mule or young Ass at 12 s. An Ox at 30 d. A Cow 24 d. A Swine 8 d. A Man one

Pound.

Pound. A Sheep, 1 s. A Goat at 11 d. Note, That this is Saxon Money, 5 d. to the Shill. and 48 s. to the Pound. *Whelock, p. 96.*

In 1043, *Chron. Saxon.* Corn was so dear, as no One ever remembered it; inso-much that a *Sester* of Wheat was sold for LX d. *H. of Huntingdon* explains this *Sextarius*, by saying it was as much as would load a Horse; and so does *Rob. de Monte*, in 1041. and both of them say it was sold for V. Sol. And both of them lived about the Year, 1140.

A *Sester* or *Sextarius* was what we now call a *Quarter*, or a *Seam*, containing 8 Bushels. So *Sir H. Spelman*. And in Confirmation of it, cites *Huntington, L. 6. Circa hoc tempus (scil. Ed. Confess.) tanta fames Angliam invasit quod Sextarii Frumenti, qui Equo uni solet esse oneri, vendarentur V Solidis, & etiam plus.* There

two Authors that wrote in *Latin*, and lived an 100 Years after, in the *Norman Times*, translated LX *d.* into V Sol. because in *their Days* the Shilling contained 12 *d.* But in the *Saxon Times*, *i. e.* when this Famine or Scarcety happened, 1043, the Shilling contain'd but 5 *d.* so that LX *d.* with the *Saxons* was XII Sol. So the Fragment of *Ælfric Grammaticus* (cited by Mr. *Somner*) who died, as Mr. *Wharton* thinks, in *An.* 1051, *Anglia Sacr. P. I. Libra on Leden is Pund on Englisc, Fif Penegas gemacigath ænne Scillinge, & XXX Penega ænne Mancs. i. e. Libra in Latin is a Pound in English. Five Pennies make one Schilling, and 30 Pennies a Mark. A Mark was therefore VI Sol. as I have before observed, because there are 6 times 5 in 30.*

And it will not be amiss, to hint to you, on this Occasion, the necessity there is of remembering how near,

your

your *Author* lived to the Times he writes of; because most Men are apt to speak of Ages past, according to the Ways and Customs of their own. Thus, in the Laws of King *Athelstan*, as they are translated by *John Brompton* (*inter X Scriptores*) pag. 847. an Offender is to forfeit for his *first* Fault, XXX *d.* for his *second*, LX *d.* and for his *third*, X *s.* Now this could not possibly be in King *Athelstan's* Time, when LX *d.* made XII *s.* but in *John Brompton's* Time, (who lived under *Edw. III.*) X *s.* was double (as it still is) to LX *d.* and was a *treble* Mult for a *third* Offence, as Reason required. And thus in *L. 59*, of King *Ina*. He who wounds or maims the *Horn* of an Ox, is to pay X *d.* [*Brompton* says V *d.*] of a Cow, 2 *d.* [*B.* says V *d.*] Who cuts off the *Tail* of an Ox, is to pay IV *d.* [*B.* says V *d.*] of a Cow, V *d.* Who

puts out the Eye of an Ox, is to pay V d. of a Cow, a Shilling. [*Brompton* says 12 d.] Now, tho' a Shilling in *Brompton's* Time had in it 12 d. yet in *Ina's* Time, it had but 5 d. I could give you many Instances of this nature, if it were useful; but these (which are not alien from my Design) may suffice to justify the Caution I gave you, of minding your Author's Age. But, leaving you to take part, either with my Conjectures, or with the two above-named Authors, *Rob. de Monte*, and *H. Huntington*. I set down the Price of a Quarter of Wheat, in 1043, at ——— ———

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 60 |

In 1125, a *Sextar* or Quarter of Wheat, at ——— ———

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 01 | 00 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

So say *Annales de Margan* (put out by *Dr. Gale*) there was so great a Famine. But *H. Huntington* in the same Year says, p. 382. *Vendebatur Onus equi frumentarium, VI s.* And *Rob. de Monte*, in

the same Year, says it was the dearest Year in *England*, that was ever known; for a Horse-load of Wheat was sold at VI Sol. This, upon the Credit of these two Writers, seems more likely, than the Price set by the *Annalist*, of 20 s.

If the *Liber niger Schaccarii*, were written in the Time of *H. I.* as some affirm, it ought to be noted down, in the next place, (since he began 1100, and ended 1135.)

1. *Pro Mensura Tritici ad Panem Centum Hominum.*

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| l. | s. | d. |
| 00 | 01 | 00 |

2. *Pro Corpore Bovis Pascualis.* —————

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 01 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

Pro Præbenda XX Equorum. —————

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 04 |
|----|----|----|

3. *Pro Ariete vel Ove.* —

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 04 |
|----|----|----|

1. This was the Exchange made by the King; that instead of *Provisions* for his Household, he might have some ready *Money* to defray the Expences of his Court, and pay his Soldiers. Instead, therefore, of *Bread*

for a 100 Men (for one Meal, I suppose) the Tenant was to pay a *Shilling*.

2. Instead of a stalled Ox, the Tenant was to pay a *Shilling*. Mr. *Selden*, in his Notes on *Eadmer*, says it was *five* Shillings. But Sir *H. Spelman* (in v. *Firma*) who saw the Book, and transcrib'd this Passage, puts it down *Solidum unum*; and him I follow. He says, it is a Book on which the Sun does seldom shine; meaning, that it is rarely seen and hard to come at. He had the Opportunity of transcribing many Pieces of it, which he has given, in several places of his *Glossary*; and so has Mr. *Lowndes* transcribed a good deal of it, in his *Essay*. But this is all that I could find to my present Purpose.

3. By *Provender* of Horses is always meant *Oats*. And instead of bringing Oats for XX Horses (for a Night, I

imagine) the Tenant was to allow 4 Pence.

In the Laws of *H. I. cap.* 76. Forty Sheep are valued at _____

l. s. d.
01 00 00

About the Year 1145. the Tenant of a Place was to pay yearly XX s. or VII Oxen, each worth III s. *M. Paris*, p. 1013.

In 1185. The Tenants of *Shireborn*, are by Custom, to pay either 2 d. or 4 Hens, which they will. And by the Custom of *Beleshall*, they are to have a Ram, or VIII d. (and in the Preface to King *Athelstan's* Laws, a Ram was at 4 d. *Vel unus Aries, qui valeat IIII Denarios.*) *Monast. V. II.* p. 528.

In 1196. So great a scarcity of Corn that, at *Salisbury*, a *Sema* of Wheat was sold at _____

00 13 04

In 1197. A *Sema* of Wheat (*i. e.* a Quarter) at _____

00 18 08

Tho. Wikes, Chron. Dr. Gale (to whom we are obliged for the Edition of this, and

other Historians) put his Note under the word *Sema-quatuor modios*. Which, surely, is not so; for *Sema* is a *Quarter*, or 8 Bushel. And so Sir H. Spelman, *Seam VIII modiorum mensura; sic de Frumento dictum, quod unius Equi sit Sauma, i. c. Sarcina*. So that, with him, a *Quarter* of Wheat is a Horse-load. And, doubtless, a *Quarter* is a quarter or fourth Part of some Load or Weight; for so *quarta, quartalis, and quartalium*, signifies a Peck or the fourth Part of a Bushel: and a *Quart* is the fourth Part of a Gallon.

In 1199. King *John* ordered that a Tun of *Poictou-Wine*, should be sold for no more than ————

A Tun of *Anjou-Wine* at
No *French Wine* above

Unless so very good, that
One would be glad to give,
per Tun ————

No *Sextarium*, of *Poictou-Wine*, to be sold above —

l. s. d.

01 00 00

01 04 00

01 05 00

01 06 08

00 00 04

Nor

Nor any *White*, dearer
 than _____ *l. s. d.*
 00 00 06

But the Merchants could not bear this *Affise*, and sold the *Red* for 6 *d.* and the *White* for 8 *d.* the Gallon. And the Land (as the Historian observes) was filled with Drink and Drunkards. *Annales Burtonenses. An. 1199.* Mr. *Stow*, mentions no Measure, but a Gallon, for *Sextarius*. And Sir *H. Spelman* says, that at *Paris*, a *Modius Vini* holds 36 *Sextarios*, and that a *Sextar* is 8 Pints. At this rate *Tonellus Vini*, will hold, but about 60 Gallons, which is the nearest to our *Hogshead*. Mr. *Stow* calls the *Poictou* Wine, Wine of *Rochel*: And for the French Wine he says the *Affise* was 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* by the *Tun*. And says, *p.* 165. that they who sold by the *Tun*, *Hogshead*, or otherwise, contrary to this *Affise*, were to be punished. But, if we are to understand in this place, a

Tun of English Measure (which is 252 Gallons) by the word *Tonellus*, then cannot a Gallon of *Poictou* Wine, come to 4 *d.* no, nor to 1 *d.* since in XX *s.* there are but 240 *d.* I suspect that *Sextarius* is more than a Gallon: for I do not think, that so long ago as 1199, *Red Wine* at 1 *d. ob.* and *White* at 2 *d.* the *Quart*, would have filled the Land either with Drink or Drunkards; especially when *Anjou*, and *Poictou* were in the *English* Hands; it must be cheaper much, to make that Observation good. And tho' the *Rochel* Hogshead, be but 46 Gallons, yet it will not do.

In 1202. So great a Scarcety (occasioned by continual Rains) that a *Quarter* of Wheat, was sold for more than (*Annales, Waverl.*)

| <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 00 | 12 | 00 |

In 1205. There was so great a Frost, lasting from *January* 14. to *March* 19.

that

that Wheat was at (*M. Paris.*) the Quarter, ——— l. s. d.
 00 12 00

Mr. *Stow* says the Ground was so hard, that it could not be tilled, and a Quarter of *Wheat* was sold the Summer following, for a *Marc*; which in *H. II.* Days, had usually been at 1 s. *Beans* and *Pease*, by the Quarter, 6 s. 8 d. And *Oats*, that were wont to be at 4 d. the Quarter, were now at 3 s. 4 d. *Fabian* puts *Wheat*, now, at 15 s.

In or about 1217, when the King came to *Redbourn*, the *Camerarius* of *St. Albans* lost three good Horses, two Asses, and a good new Cart: all which were worth, at least, 50 s.

When *Fulco de Brent* came to *Langley*, the *Camerarius* lost three Houses, that were burnt, and 35 Hogs, which all came to at least X l. and a Plow that cost X s. (which is a mistake for X d.) And when the King of *France's*

Marechal came, he lost many Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and other Things, and 24 Horses, valued, at least, at 40 Marks, *i. e.* 26 l. 13 s. 4 d. *Matth. Paris*, page 1059. The *Camerarius* was the Receiver of the Rents, and who provided Clothes for the Monks.

In 1223. Wheat was very dear, and sold *per Quarter*, at (*Stow*, in 7. *H. III.*)

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 12 | 00 |

About 1232. The *Abbot* of *St. Albans*, going a Journey, and attended with six Esquires on Horseback, agrees, that if the Horses die on the Way, he will give for each Horse X s. and the Horses are to be strong and handsom; *decentes, & fortes ad portandum.* *M. Paris*, p. 1051.

In 1237. Wheat was by the

Quarter, ———

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 03 | 04 |
|----|----|----|

Barly, ——— —

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 02 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

Oats, ——— —

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 01 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

Antiq. Peterborough, p. 304.

Where I must observe, that

I reduce all Measures, to a *Quarter*, for Uniformity's sake. Here I meet with the word *Sceppe*, which the *Glossaries* forget; but it signifies a *Bushel*, as appears, by casting up the Summ here mentioned, where XXVIII *Quarter*, and one *Sceppe* of Wheat, are valued at 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* which is just 5 *d.* the *Bushel*.

If you chance to meet with any young Companions of yours, who slight these sort of Studies, you may acquaint them, that the present excellent, most learned, and most useful Bishop of *Ely*, put out, with no small Labour of his own, the *Antiquities*, out of which I have told you, what Price, *Wheat*, and *Barly*, and *Oats* bare, in or about 1237. Or (as *Dr. Kennet*) 1240.

In 1243, and 1244. Corn so plentiful, that *Wheat*, and *Pease* were each of them by the *Quarter* (*M. Paris* in *Annis.*) ——— ———

l. s. d.

co o2 co

In

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| In 1246. A Quarter of Wheat (so dear) at (<i>Tho. Wikes.</i>) ——— ——— | l. s. d. 00 16 00 |
|--|----------------------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| In 1247. A Quarter of Wheat (still dear) at (<i>Tho. Wikes.</i>) ——— ——— | 00 13 04 |
|---|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| In 1257. A Quarter of Wheat (excessively dear) at (<i>Fabian.</i>) ——— ——— | 01 04 00 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| In 1258. So great a Fa- mine, that many People were starved, so that a Quarter of Wheat was sold at ——— | 00 16 00 |
|--|----------|

So *Walter Hemingsford.*
Which makes me suspect,
that *Fabian* was mistaken in
his Accounts of the fore-
going Year, which make
Wheat *one third* dearer.
Mr. Stow says, it was XV s.
nay XX s. the Quarter.

| | |
|---|---------|
| In 1270. Wheat was so dear, that it was sold at, the Quarter, ——— ——— | 4 16 00 |
|---|---------|

And sometimes at 16 s. the
Bush. which makes it at 6l. 8s.

So the *Author of Antiq. Brit-
tan.* in *Vita Joh. Pecham.* who
says that Provisions were so
scarce, that Parents did eat

their

their own Children. But, I hope, we need not believe him; 'tis only an Expression of the greatest Want imaginable.

In 1286. Wheat was at, *l. s. d.*
 the Quarter, ———— 00 02 08

But such a Storm of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, fell on *St. Margaret's* Night, that Wheat came by degrees to, the Quarter, ———— 00 16 00

And this Dearness continued off and on for about 40 Years, so that sometimes it was sold at *London* for 4 *l.* the Quarter. *H. Knighton*, p. 2468.

In 1287. Wheat was so cheap, that it was sold at, the Quarter, ———— 00 03 04

In 1288. So great the plenty of Corn, and scarcity of Money, that Wheat was sold, by the Quarter, at 00 01 06

So *Angl. Sacr. Annales Wigorn.* The *Waverly Annals* say at 2 *s.* Mr. *Stow* says, that Wheat was sold (tho' the hottest Summer that

was remembred) at *London* for 3 s. 4 d. in other Parts of *England*, at 1 s. 8. d. and 1 s. 4 d. and 1 s. nay, in the *North*, and *West* Parts, at 8 d. the Quarter. *Barly* at 6 d. and *Oats* at 4 d. and *Pease* and *Beans* very cheap. And yet *Fabian* sets it down this Year at 9 s. 4 d. which is very dear. But it is easie to be mistaken in setting down one Year for another. And therefore when *H. Knighton* says, that great Dearness continued off and on, for 40 Years, we must understand him candidly; for now and then, it was, in that Space of Time, exceedingly cheap.

in 1289. *Walsingham* says Wheat was so cheap, that in some Places it was sold, the Quarter at 1 s. 8 d. in others at 1 s. 4 d. and in others at 1 s. which does certainly belong to the Year foregoing. *Fabian* makes this a dear Year, and says

Wheat

Wheat was by the Quarter, at 12 s. and says it went on increasing till it came in Ed. II. Time to 2 l. the Quarter.

It may be, Mr. *Dugdale's* Account, in his *Warwickshire Antiq.* may be the more likely, as being between the Extreams, of *Walsingham* and *Fabian*, as follows.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|------------------------|----|----|----|
| Wheat, the Quarter, at | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| Rye, _____ | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Barly, _____ | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| Beans and Pease, _____ | 00 | 02 | 08 |
| Oats, _____ | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| A Swan at _____ | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| A Duck at _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 |

Mr. *Stow's* Account of this Year is, that by reason of great Hail, and Rains, Wheat rose from 2 s. the Quarter, to X s. 8 d. and, by degrees came to XX s. the Quarter.

In 1290. *Tho. Walsingham*, and from him the Author of *Antiq. Britan. in Vita. Job. Pecham*, says, that Wheat, which had been at 2 s. the

Quarter, rose (by reason of great Rains and Storms) to *l. s. d.*
 00 16 00

Which Scarcety continued off and on, for many Years.

In 1294. Wheat (dear) by the Quarter. (*Fabian*) 00 16 00

And sometime XX s. as *H. Knighton*.

In 1298. At *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, the Price of an Ox,

00 06 08

A Cow at 00 05 00

A Heifer at 00 02 00

A Sheep at 00 00 01

Monasticon, Vol. 2. p. 403.

In 1299. This Year, was made an Act of *Common-Council*, for Prices of *Victuals* to be sold at *London*, by Consent of the King and Nobility: And as to Poultry, it was as follows. *Stow*.

A fat Cock, 00 00 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

Two Pullets, 00 00 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

A fat Capon, 00 00 02 $\frac{1}{2}$

A Goose, 00 00 04

A Mallard, 00 00 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

A Partrich, 00 00 01 $\frac{1}{2}$

A Pheasant, 00 00 04

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|--------------------------------|
| A Heron, _____ | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Plover, _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| A Swan, _____ | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| A Crane, _____ | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| Two Woodcocks, _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 ¹ / ₂ |
| A fat Lamb, from <i>Christ-</i> <i>mas</i> to <i>Shrovetide</i> , _____ | 00 | 01 | 04 |
| The same, for all the Year after, _____ | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| In 1302. In <i>Dugdale's</i> <i>Hist. of St. Paul's</i> , page 32. | | | |
| Wheat, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Malt ground, at _____ | 00 | 03 | 03 |
| Pease, at _____ | 00 | 02 | 06 |
| Oats, at _____ | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| A Bull, at _____ | 00 | 07 | 04 |
| A Cow, at _____ | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| A fat Mutton, at _____ | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| An Ewe-Sheep, at | 00 | 00 | 08 |
| A Capon, at _____ | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| A Cock or Hen, _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 ¹ / ₂ |

In 1309. *Will. Thorn* (*inter X Scriptores*) in his *Chron.* p. 201C. gives us an Account of the Feast which *Ralf de Born*, *Priour* of *St. Augustine's Cant.* made on his Installation-Day: In which it appears that he paid, very

great Rates for many Particulars of his Bill of Fare, considering the Times. I have given the whole, but computed the Price of each Particular, that the Reader may see a little of the Spirit of that Age, and also what Proportion Commodities then bore, to what they do at this Day. And it will not be amiss to give him the Preface which *William Thorn* makes to this Bill of Fare. *Because* (says he) *the present Times* (1380) *may not, by any means, be compared with the foregoing ones, for plenty and abundance of all sort of Things, I have thought it convenient, to give the following Account of this Feast, not that Posterity might imitate this Costliness, but rather might admire it. And thus it was.*

Of Wheat, 53 Quarters,
Price XIX l. [So that a
Quarter came to ———

l. s. d.
00 07 02
Of

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Of Malt, 58 Quart. Price XVII. <i>l.</i> X <i>s.</i> [A Quarter at | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| Of Wine, 11 Tun, Price XXIII <i>l.</i> [A Tun at or about | 02 | 03 | 07½ |
| Oats for the Guests, as well within, as without the Gates of the City, 20 Quarter, Price IV <i>l.</i> [So that a Quarter came to | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| For Spice (<i>pro Speciebus</i>) XXVIII <i>l.</i> | | | |
| For CCC <i>l.</i> of Wax, Price VIII <i>l.</i> [So that a Pound came to near | 00 | 00 | 06½ |
| Almonds, D <i>l.</i> Price III <i>l.</i> XVIII <i>s.</i> [So that a Pound came to above | 00 | 00 | 01¼ |
| XXX Ox Carcaffes (<i>pro Carcoifis Boum</i>) Pr. XXVII <i>l.</i> [Each came to | 00 | 18 | 00 |
| Of Hogs, C. Price XVI <i>l.</i> [So that each Hog came to about | 00 | 03 | 02½ |
| Of Muttons, [<i>de Multonibus</i>] CC. Price XXX <i>l.</i> [Each came to | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| Of Geefe, [<i>de Aucis</i>] M. Price XVI <i>l.</i> [Each Goose about | 00 | 00 | 03½ |

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| Of Capons and Hens, D. Price VI l. V s. [Each Fowl came to ——— ——— | l. s. d. 00 00 03 |
| Of Pullets, [<i>de Pulonibus</i>] CCCCXXIII. Price III l. XIV s. [Each ——— ——— | 00 00 01½ |
| Of Pigs, [<i>de Porcellis</i>] CC. Price V l. [Each Pig at | 00 00 06 |
| Of Swans, 24. Price VII l. [Each Swan came to ——— | 00 05 10 |
| Of Rabbits, 600. Pr. XV l. [Each Rabbit came to ——— | 00 00 06 |
| <i>De Scentis de Braun</i> , 16. Pr. III l. V s. Each <i>Sheild</i> <i>of Brawn</i> (and therefore Mr. <i>Sommer</i> guesses right, that it should be read <i>Scutis</i>) came to ——— | 00 04 00¾ |
| Of Partrich, Mallards, Bitterns (<i>Butores</i>) and Larks, XVIII l. | |
| Of Earthen Pots, M. Pr. XV s. | |
| Of Salt, 9 Quart. Price X s. 'tis 9 <i>Summas</i> . But 'tis, without doubt, a mistake, for Salt was never so low, as <i>Three-Half-pence</i> the <i>Bush</i> . | |
| <i>De Sciphis</i> , M. CCCC <i>Mugs</i> . I believe, or <i>Wooden</i> | |

Cans, to drink in, or it may be *Black Jacks*.

Dishes and Platers, [*Platellis*] or Trenchers, M.M.M.CCC.

De Scopis & Gachis. Price VIII *l.* IV *s.* *Scopa*, is a Broom or Beesom, and, by its use, a Penitentiary *Discipline*. But what it is here, or what *Gachis* signifies, I know not.

Of Fish, Cheese, Milk, Onions, &c. Price II *l.* X *s.*

Eggs, 9600, Pr. IV *l.* X *s.* *l. s. d.*
Which are about 9 for — 00 00 00

Of Saffron, [*Crocus*] and Pepper. Price I *l.* XIV *s.*

In Coals, and [*Doleis*] setting up Furnaces. Price II *l.* VIII *s.*

In CCC Ells of Caneum, Canvas, or Flax. Pr. IV *l.*

In making up Tables, Trefels, and Dressers. Price I *l.* XIV *s.*

Given to the Cooks and their Boys, VI *l.*

To the Minstrels, or Musick, III *l.* X *s.*

The Summ total is,
 CCLXXXVII l. VII s. 00 d.
 taking in the Presents and
 Gratuities. At this Feast
 there were 6000 Guests that
 sat down at the Tables, and
 they had 3000 Messes. And
 therefore instead of *quo re-*
spondentes (at the end of this
 Account) I would read *Cor-*
respondentes; answering to,
 or setting *Opposite* to each
 other. And so there was a
 Mess to each Couple. I ob-
 serv'd above, that this *Prior*
 paid dear for many Parti-
 culars, and if you will com-
 pare this Account with the
 foregoing ones, you will
 find his *Corn* of each kind,
 his *Beef*, and *Mutton*, and
Swans, to be at a high Rate;
 and as for the Article of *Ra-*
bbits, I am almost sure there
 must be some mistake in it,
 for they could never be so
 dear (so long ago) as 6 d.
 a-piece.

In 1309. A pair of Shoes,
 (*Spelm. Gl. v. Vatarius*) at

l. s. d.
 00 00 04

In 1314. *Antiq. Oxon.* Upon the Chancellors and Proctors Complaints to the King, (E. II.) that the Market of *Oxford* ran unreasonably high, so that poor Scholars could hardly live, the King sent down his *Mandate*, to regulate this Affair. But since the *Parliament* took the same Thing (with respect to the whole Nation) into Consideration, it will be better to give the Rates they thought fit to set upon Provisions, especially since there is no difference, or but a little, betwixt these two Accounts. Thus therefore Mr. *Stow* sets it down.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| A stalled, or Corn-fed Ox, at _____ | 01 | 04 | 00 |
| A Grass-fed Ox, _____ | 00 | 16 | 00 |
| A fat stall'd Cow, — | 00 | 12 | 00 |
| An ordinary Cow, — | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| A fat Mutton, unshorn (Corn-fed, the <i>Oxford Antiq.</i> say) _____ | 00 | 01 | 08 |
| A fat Mutton, shorn, | 00 | 01 | 02 |

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|------------------|
| A fat Hog of two Years old (the <i>Antiq.</i> say it should be <i>ovis bima</i> . But, I think, the Price does not so well agree with that) at | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| A fat Goose, in the City, 3 <i>d.</i> but every where else, at | 00 | 00 | 02 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| A fat Capon, in the City, 2 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$. elsewhere, at | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| A fat Hen, in the City, 1 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$. elsewhere, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 2. Chickens, in the City 1 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$. elsewhere, at | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 4. Pigeons (in the City but three Pigeons) for | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 24. Eggs (in the City but 20) for ——— ——— | 00 | 00 | 01 |

But, notwithstanding this *Act of Parliament*, Things could not be purchased at these Rates, for People would not bring them to Market, (and that is a thing that Parliaments cannot remedy) and so the King was fain to revoke the former *Act*, and leave People to sell as they could (for a Trade will do as it can, and never be forced, one way or

other)

other) and (as *Walsingham* tells us, in 1315, and 1316,) the Price of Pease, and Beans, and of Wheat was, by the Quarter, at _____
 Malt, at _____
 Salt, at _____

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 01 | 00 | 00 |
| 00 | 13 | 04 |
| 01 | 15 | 00 |

Nay, (by the Rains in Harvest) the Dearth was such, that Wheat came to 30, and 40 s. the Quarter. And Good Ale was at the Gallon (*per Lagenam*, from whence the word *Flaggon*, which used heretofore to hold 4 Quarts, is derived,)

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 02 |
| 00 | 00 | 03 |
| 00 | 00 | 04 |

The better sort, at _____
 And the best of all, at _____
 So that a Proclamation was fain to be issued out, that a *Lagena* of Ale, should be sold at _____

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 01 |
|----|----|----|

And that no Wheat should be malted (*imbrastatum*,) which the *Londoners* had usually done, to the great consumption of Corn, and sold it, at (the *Flaggon*) _____

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 00 | 00 | 01 |

In 1316. Wheat exceeding dear (*Fabian*) at the Quarter, ——— ———

l. s. d.
01. 12 00

In 1317. So great a scarcity of Corn, that at *Leicester*, on a Saturday, Wheat was sold at (*per Quarter*)

02 04 00

And the Friday following, at the same Place, at 14 s. the Quarter.

So *H. Knighton*; but there is a mistake in his saying, the Scarcity continued for two Years, and was general throughout all *England*. *Fabian* puts it this Year,

02 13 04

And yet of this very Year 1317, *Stow* tells us, that the Harvest was in so early, that all was housed, before *St. Giles's Day*, which is *Septemb. 1.* and Wheat, that was before at IV l. the Quarter, was now at VI s. VIII d. and Oats, that was before III l. IV. d. now at V s. IV d. which makes what *Knighton* says probable; for what he says, was but a decrease of *two thirds*: Whereas

Mr. Stow's decrease is eleven in twelve.

In 1326. 1 Ed. III. at Tunbridge in Kent, Inquisitio unum Capitale Messuagium LXX Acres of Arable Land, worth per An. XXXV s.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| Twelve Hens, at _____ | 00 | 01 | 06 |
| One Cock and 13 Hens, at _____ | 00 | 01 | 07 |
| Eight Porkers and a half, at _____ | 00 | 15 | 00 |
| 80 Acres of Arable, at XX s. i. e. per Acre, _____ | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| 20 Acres of Pasture, each Acre at _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| 14 Acres of Meadow, each at _____ | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| 18 Acres of Arable, each Acre at _____ | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| 27 Acres of Arable, each at _____ | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| Two Acres of Meadow, each Acre at _____ | 00 | 00 | 10 |
| A Cock, _____ | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| Three Hens, _____ | 00 | 00 | 04 |

Mr. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 541. You may see from hence, that you can make no certain Computation, from the Rates

of

of Acres, because of the difference of the Grounds.

In 1336. Such plenty of Corn, and scarcety of Money, that Wheat, was at *London*, by the Quarter, —

l. s. d.

00 02 00

A fat Ox, at — —

00 06 08

So *H. Knighton*. And *Fabian* adds,

For a fat Sheep VI *d.* and at most — —

00 00 08

VI Pigeons for — —

00 00 01

A fat Goose, at — —

00 00 02

A Pigg, — —

00 00 01

And says it was occasioned by King *E. III.* gathering up all the Money he could get, to carry on his Wars, in *France* and *Scotland*.

In 1338. Wheat, the Quarter, at — — —

00 03 04

Barley, at — —

00 00 10

Pease and Beans, the Quarter, at — —

00 01 00

Oats, the Quarter, at

00 00 10

In 1339. Several Undertakers promise to deliver at the Town of *Berwick*, and in *Leith-Road*, 10000 Quar-

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| ter of Wheat and Malt, each Quarter at ——— | 00 | 09 | 00 |
| Oats, Beans, and Pease, each Quarter at ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Sir R. Cotton's <i>Abridgm. Records.</i> This was a high Price. | | | |
| In 1343. Two Oxen, Price of each, ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| In 1344. One Cow, at Dr. Kennet's <i>Paroch. Antiq.</i> | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1348. <i>H. Knighton</i> says, that in the Pestilence, Things were sold almost for nothing. A Horse worth 40 s. was sold for ——— | | | |
| A good fat Ox, at | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| A Cow, at ——— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| An Heifer, or Steer, at | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| An Heifer, or Steer, at | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A fat Mutton, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| An Ewe, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| A Lamb, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| A Hogg, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| A Stone of Wooll, at | 00 | 00 | 09 |

The Historian says upon this Matter, *Erat leve precium cunctis, præ mortis timore*, p. 2599. they were not only afraid of the Cattles dying, but of their own,

for,

for, otherwite, *Wooll* need
not have been so cheap.

375

In 1349. Corn so plenti-
ful, and other Provisions,
that Wheat was, by the
Quarter, at _____

l. s. d.

00 02 00

A fat Ox at *London*, for
Antiquit. Britann.

00 06 08

In 1359. Wheat, very dear,
a Quarter, at (*Fabian*)

01 06 08

In 1361. Wheat so cheap,
that a Quarter was at (*Mo-
nast. V. 2.*) _____

00 02 00

Two Hens for a _____

00 00 01

In 1363. A Widow is to
pay 4 Hens, or in Money,

00 00 04

XII Hoggs at XVIII s.
each Hogg at _____

00 01 06

Dr. Kennet's Paroch. Ant.

Yet Wheat so dear, that
Walsingham says a Quarter
was at _____

00 15 00

In 1369. *Walsingham* says
there was such a Dearth, that
Wheat was sold, by the Quar-
ter, at 1 l. 4 s. according to
Stow, _____

01 00 00

Barly, at _____

00 16 04

Oats, at _____

00 08 00

| | l | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| In 1379. Wheat so cheap, that the Quarter was at | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| White Whine was sold by the Gallon, for _____ | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| Red Wine by the Gallon, at (<i>Stow</i>) _____ | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| In 1382. A Tun of Wine not to exceed, (<i>Stow</i>) | 04 | 00 | 00 |
| In 1387. Barly, at <i>Leicester</i> , sold by the Quarter, at | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| Wheat, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Barly, in the same Year, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Pease, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| <i>Siliginis</i> , (which, what it is, I know not) <i>per</i> Quarter, at _____ | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| In 1390. Wheat at <i>Leicester</i> , by the Quarter, at | 00 | 16 | 03 |
| and 14 s. and 13 s. 4 d. | | | |
| And Wooll was so cheap (by reason of a Law that forbad Men to carry it but to such and such Places, for Stranger-Merchants to fetch it, and might not export it themselves) that it was sold, by the Stone, at _____ | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| and at 2 s. and at 1 s. 8 d. | | | |
| <i>H. Knighton</i> , who lived at <i>Leicester</i> . | | | |

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| In 1401. Wheat very dear, the Quarter at (<i>Fabian</i>) | l. s. d. 00 16 00 |
|---|----------------------|

In 1407. In a *Computus*, relating to the *Prior and Canons* of *Burcester Oxf.* are found these following Particulars, to our present Purpose, which I have transcribed out of *Dr. Kennet's Parochial Antiquities*; which Book, if you will read it, will pay you for your Time and Pains; being full of many curious, learned, and useful Observations, in this way of Learning.

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| For a Cow, ——— | 00 07 00 |
| For the Calf of that Cow, | 00 01 08 |
| For a Calf of a Cow that was somewhat weak, <i>debilis</i> , | 00 01 00 |
| For 5 Calves, (each at 2 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. very near) | 00 10 08 |
| For 5 Bushels and a half of Salt, ——— | 00 03 04 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For a Cowele or Cooler, in Brewing, ——— | 00 00 09 |
| For a Cow and her Calf, | 00 07 06 |
| For 2 Bushel of Wheat, | 00 00 10 |
| For a Man threshing for V Days, ——— | 00 00 10 |
| | For |

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|------------------|
| For 2 Oxen, — | 01 | 06 | 08 |
| For one Ox, — | 00 | 11 | 06 |
| For a new Plow, | 00 | 00 | 10 |
| For XI Bushel of Sowing- Wheat, (the Quarter near 4 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.) — | 00 | 05 | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For XVIII Bush. of Sow- ing-Oats, (the Quart. at 2 s.) | 00 | 04 | 06 |
| For a Dung-Cart, and all that belong'd to it, | 00 | 01 | 02 |
| For a pair of Cart-wheels, | 00 | 03 | 02 |
| For R. P. working XII Days, (3 d. per Day) | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| For J. B. working one Day, — | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| For a Calf, — | 00 | 01 | 07 |
| In 1416. Wheat very dear, the Quarter at (<i>Fabian</i>) | 00 | 16 | 00 |
| In 1423. Wheat cheap, the Quarter at, (<i>Fabian</i>) | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Malt, at — | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Wheat at 8 s. the Quar- ter, was not, for those Times, <i>cheap</i> ; but it was cheap, with respect to some dear Years foregoing. | | | |
| A Ram, at — | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| A Cheese at — | 00 | 00 | 04 |

From such Articles as this last foregoing one, where neither *Weight*, nor *Goodness* is expressed, nothing can be concluded.

In 1425. In another *Computus* of the *Prior*, and a *Canon* of *Burcester Oxf.* in *Dr. Kennet's Par. Ant.*

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| For a Colt sold, ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| For X Quarter of Pease, (each Quarter at 2 s. 2 d.) at | 01 | 01 | 08 |
| For XVIII Quarter and 2 Bush. of Pease (about 3 d. $\frac{1}{8}$. <i>per</i> bush.) at ——— | 01 | 17 | 07 |
| For V Ox-Hides, ——— | 00 | 12 | 00 |
| For II Cow-Hides, | 00 | 02 | 07 |
| For III Cow-Hides, ——— | 00 | 04 | 08 |
| For XVI Calve-Skins, | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| For XXI Lambs, ——— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| For XXXVI Sheep-Skins, of 2 Years old, ——— | 00 | 09 | 00 |
| For XXIII Tod of pure Wooll, (at 9 s. 6 d. the Tod) | 10 | 18 | 06 |
| For XIX Ells of Cloth for Napkins, ——— ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| For CXXXII Flaggons and an half of Ale, at — | 00 | 04 | 10 |
| I have observ'd before, that <i>Lagena</i> (a Flaggon) | | | |

holds

holds 4 Quarts. Now an
 132 Flaggons must, at that
 Rate make 528 Quarts, for
 which there was paid but 58
 Pence: which will bring it
 to 9 Quarts a Penny, and 6
 will remain besides. Now
 this cannot be allowed; there
 is therefore a Mistake either
 in setting down the Num-
 ber of the Flaggons, or of
 the Money paid for them.
 And such Mistakes are very
 easie. A Flaggon of Ale, or
 a Gallon, was (at or near
 this time) valued at 1 d.
 or 1 d. $\frac{1}{4}$. or 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. And if
 you compute at this last
 rate, and reckon XV s. for
 IV, it will come pretty near
 the Matter.

For XXXII Flaggons of
 Red Wine, at 8 d. the Flag-
 gon, —————

l. s. d.
 01 01 04

For III Flaggons and III
 Quarts of Sweet Wine, at
 1 s. 4 d. the Flaggon, —

co 05 co

This is a manifest Proof,
 that *Lagena* holds 4 Quarts;
 for if it had held 3, there

H 3

had

had been 4 *Lagenæ*; if it had held 2, there had been 4 *Lagenæ* and 1 Quart. A Quart came to 4 *d.*

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| To <i>W. H.</i> a Stone-cutter, for 4 Days work (4 <i>d.</i> the Day,) ————— | <i>l. s. d.</i> 00 01 04 |
|--|-----------------------------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| To <i>J. C.</i> and 2 Servants, Tyling for 4 Days (between 3 <i>d.</i> and 4 <i>d.</i>) ——— | 00 03 04 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| To two Sawyers working X Days (4 <i>d.</i> the Day) | 00 06 08 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|---------------------|----------|
| For XX Pullets, ——— | 00 01 08 |
|---------------------|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| For a quarter of an Ox to salt, ——— ——— — | 00 01 04 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| For a Cade of Red Her- rings (720 the Cade) | 00 08 00 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|-----------------------|----------|
| For a Frail of Figgs, | 00 03 04 |
|-----------------------|----------|

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| For 12 Pound of Raisins, | 00 01 01 |
|--------------------------|----------|

| | |
|-----------------------|----------|
| For a great Flesh-Ax, | 00 01 04 |
|-----------------------|----------|

| | |
|--|----------|
| For 2 Yards of Ruffet Cloth for the Shepherd, | 00 02 02 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| For 4 Quarters of Wheat to be malted, ('tis, <i>pro 4</i> <i>quarteriis Frumenti pro Bru-</i> <i>sio faciendo</i>) each Quart. at | 00 16 00 00 04 00 |
|--|----------------------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| For a Bay-Horse, for the Prior's Stable, — | 01 06 08 |
|---|----------|

| | |
|------------------|----------|
| For 2 Colts, ——— | 00 09 00 |
|------------------|----------|

For

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|-----|
| For 30 Pair of Autumnal (Winter) Gloves for the Servants, ——— ——— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| To the Baker's Servant for X Days, ——— | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| For threshing a Quarter of Wheat, ——— | 00 | 00 | 03½ |
| For 8 Woodcocks, for a Present, — ——— | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| For XII Pair of Gloves to the Bp. of Worcester's Ser- vants, ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| For one Man, plowing and harrowing 12 Days, | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| <i>Vaccæ Pretium</i> , (<i>Maddox Formul.</i> p. 144.) at | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| In 1426. V Oxen, each apprais'd at ——— ——— | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| VI Cows, each at | 00 | 02 | 08 |
| III Horses, each at ——— | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| Sir <i>H. Spelman</i> , <i>Glossary V. Graile</i> , ——— | | | |
| In 1434. The Autumn was so wet, that for almost two Years following, in many Places of the Kingdom, Wheat was sold, the Quar- ter, at ——— | 01 | 06 | 03 |
| And yet at the end of the Year following it came | | | |

again to (*Hist. Croyland Continuatio*), 5 s. 4 d. therefore seems to have been the usual, common Price of a Quarter, about that time.

In 1439 *Stow* says there was such scarcity, that Wheat was sold at 1 l. the Quarter.

Fabian, at _____

In 1440. The Scarcity continued, Wheat was, the Quarter, at _____

Malt, the Quarter, at _____

Oats, the Quarter, _____

Wine, by the Gallon, _____

Bay-Salt, by the Bushel, _____

If I am not misinformed, the Statutes of a *College*, that was founded much about the same Time with yours, say, that the weekly Allowance, for every *Fellow*, *Chaplain*, and *Scholar*, shall be, 1 s. 4 d. and in Times of Scarcity, 1 s. 5 d. and 1 s. 6 d. But if Corn should be (and continue for 20 Days) above 2 s. the Bushel, then their Allowance shall be 1 s. 8 d. the Week,

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 05 | 04 |

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 01 | 06 | 08 |
|----|----|----|

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 01 | 04 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 13 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 05 | 04 |
|----|----|----|

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 01 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

| | | |
|----|----|----|
| 00 | 01 | 00 |
|----|----|----|

and

and no farther. Wheat therefore at XVI s. the Quarter, must be accounted exceedingly dear. And yet in *An.* 1440, it was, at the lowest reckoning of Mr. *Stow*, at 20 s. the Quarter. But, indeed, from that Year, to 1460, I have never found Wheat at above 8 s. the Quarter; and therefore 2 s. the Bushel might well be accounted a very high Price. And here, if it would avail me any thing, I might justly bemoan our want of History for these last 250 Years, and upwards, (I mean of Latin Writers) there having been very few, that have transmitted any thing (as of their own knowledge) of the Reigns of *H.* IV, V, VI. *Ed.* IV, V. *Rich.* III. except what Sir *Thomas More* has left us of the two last. But, as to the Purpose in hand, I have had the good Fortune to meet with the *Computus's* of 9

or 10 Years, that will exactly fit you, in this Inquiry, and they are of very great Credit, and shall go under the Name of *E. C.* but I will first give you an Account of the Price of Things, which I received from a private, but a very creditable hand, of the Year 1444.

For an 100 Quarters of Wheat, 21 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each Quarter at _____

l. *s.* *d.*
00 04 04

For 2 Bushels of Wheat, (I suppose for Seed)

00 01 00

For 2 Bushels of Pease (for Seed also) _____

00 01 00

For 5 Quarters of Pease, 15 *s.* each Quarter at

00 03 00

For 50 Quarter of Malt. 10 *l.* each Quarter at

00 04 00

For 6 Calves, 12 *s.* each Calf at _____

00 02 00

For 8 Porkers, 1 *l.* 4 *s.* each at, _____

00 03 00

besides (*i. e.* without) the Head.

For 40 Geese, 10 *s.* each Goose at _____

00 00 03

For

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| For 31 Dozen of Pigeons, 10 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each Dozen at about — — | 00 | 00 | 04 $\frac{1}{8}$ |
| For 15 Doz. of Pigeons, 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each Doz. at | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| For 100 Doz. of Pigeons, each Doz. at — | 00 | 00 | 05 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For an Ox, — | 01 | 11 | 08 |
| For 8 Cignets, or young Swans, each — | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| For a Flich of Bacon, | 00 | 01 | 08 |
| For 4 Oxen, (young, I suppose, and lean) 52 <i>s.</i> each at — | 00 | 13 | 00 |
| For 26 Warp of Ling, | 01 | 10 | 04 |
| For a 100 Stock-Fish, | 00 | 17 | 06 |
| For a Barrel of Herrings, (<i>i. e.</i> 30 Gallons fully packed) — | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| For 2 Plough-Oxen, | 01 | 03 | 00 |
| For a Quarter of Oats, | 00 | 01 | 08 |
| For 3 Bushel of Green Pease, (for Seed) | 00 | 02 | 03 |

At this time it appears that Master Traders wrought by the Day for 3 *d.* and their Labourers or Servants at 1 *d.* But then, I believe, they had their Meat and Drink. The yearly Wages

were

were, some 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* others 1 *l.* For this, see hereafter, *Chap. 5.*

In 1445. VII Quarter and an half of Wheat came to XXX *s.* which is, each Quarter, at — —

Oats, by the Quarter, at XII Flaggons, or Gallons of Ale at 1 *s.* VI *d.* each Gallon at — —

Hay, by the Load,
For 3000 Red Herrings,
XXIV Bullocks and Heifers, VI *l.* each Head at

Cloth for Surplices for Scholars, the Ell, at

And, that you may not think this Cloth to be very coarie, I assure you it was the same with the *Napkins* used at the *Altar*; and that, if you know the Religion of those Days, was certainly fine. *E. C.*

In 1447. Wheat, by the Quarter, *E. C.* —

Oats, the Quarter,

In 1448. Wheat, by the Quarter, —

| <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| 00 | 04 | 06 |
| 00 | 02 | 00 |
| 00 | 00 | 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 00 | 03 | 06 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 01 | 11 | 00 |
| 00 | 05 | 00 |
| 00 | 00 | 08 |

| | | |
|----|----|------------------|
| 00 | 08 | 00 |
| 00 | 02 | 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 00 | 06 | 08 |

Oats,

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| A Cade of Red Herrings, | 00 | 05 | 08 |
| A Barrel of White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i> ——— | 00 | 09 | 03 |
| In 1449. Wheat, by the Quarter, <i>E. C.</i> ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Cade of Red Herrings, | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| Barrel of White Herrings, | 00 | 10 | 03 |
| XV Sheep, at 1 <i>l.</i> XVI <i>s.</i> X <i>d.</i> each Sheep at (within $\frac{1}{2}$.) — | 00 | 02 | 05 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| VII Hoggs, at XIII <i>s.</i> VIII <i>d.</i> each Hogg at (within $\frac{1}{2}$.) | 00 | 01 | 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| In 1450. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 01 | 10 |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 02 | 06 |
| In 1451. Wheat, by the Quarter, at ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 01 | 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| XXVI Gallons of Ale, (here the word <i>Galo</i> is used for <i>Lagena</i>) at 3 <i>s.</i> each Gallon at ——— | 00 | 00 | 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| For a Cade of Red Herrings, ——— | 00 | 07 | 04 |
| For a Barrel of White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i> ——— | 00 | 13 | 07 |
| In 1453. Wheat, by the Quarter, ——— | 00 | 05 | 04 |
| | | | Ale |

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| Ale, <i>per</i> Gallon, | 00 | 00 | 01 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Cade of Red Herrings, | 00 | 07 | 06 |
| Fourscore Wh. Herrings, <i>E. C.</i> — | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| In 1454. Oats, by the Quarter, — | 00 | 01 | 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| In 1455. Wheat, very cheap, the Quarter at | 00 | 01 | 02 |
| Malt, the Quarter, (Mr. <i>Stow</i>) at — | 00 | 01 | 05 |
| In 1457. Wheat, by the Quarter, — | 00 | 07 | 08 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 01 | 09 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| A Gallon of Ale, at | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| A Cade of Red Herrings, at — — | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| 92 White Herrings, <i>E. C.</i> | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| In 51 <i>H. III.</i> it was de- termin'd by <i>Authority</i> , that when a Quarter of Barly was sold at 2 <i>s.</i> then <i>Ale</i> might be afforded 4 Quarts for 1 <i>d.</i> And when barly was at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> the Quarter, then <i>Ale</i> was to be 7 Quarts for 2 <i>d.</i> and so to increase and decrease, after the Rate of 6 <i>d.</i> the Quarter. But no Rules can always hold | | | |

for

for Trade : as you may see, by comparing the Price of Barly and Ale, in these and other Accompts.

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| In 1459. Wheat, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 08 | 10 |
| A Gallon of Ale, at | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| A Cade of Red Herrings, at | 00 | 07 | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 92 White Herrings, at E. C. | 00 | 01 | 00 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----|----|
| In 1460. Wheat, the Quarter, at | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| A Gallon of Ale, at | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| Cade of Red Herrings, at | 00 | 07 | 00 |
| 192 White Herrings, at E. C. | 00 | 02 | 00 |

Here my private Guide, for a while, leaves me ; but not before it has made my Observation good, that from 1440, to 1460 (the Time you inquire after) Wheat was never above 8 s. the Quarter, notwithstanding the Sword was drawn betwixt the Houses of *Tork*, and *Lancaster*, which usually cuts

down

down Corn, as well as Men.

In 1463. It was enacted in Parliament, That no Corn should be imported, if Wheat were not above 6 s. 8 d. Rie 4 s. Barly 3 s. the Quarter; which signifies those Prices to be high.

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| In 1463. At <i>London</i> , Wheat was, by the Quarter, | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Barly, the Quarter, | 00 | 01 | 10 |
| Pease, the Quarter, | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 01 | 02 |
| At <i>Norfolk</i> the same Year, | | | |
| Wheat, the Quarter, | 00 | 01 | 08 |
| Barly, ——— | 00 | 01 | 00 |
| Malt, ——— | 00 | 01 | 08 |
| Oats, <i>Mr. Stow</i> , | 00 | 01 | 00 |

In 1464. White Wheat was sold by the Quarter, (*Sir R. Cotton's Records*)

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| | 00 | 06 | 08 |
|--|----|----|----|

In 1475. Oats, the Quarter, at

| | | | |
|-----------------|----|----|----|
| | 00 | 01 | 10 |
| Load of Hay, at | 00 | 06 | 08 |

This is from a *private Computus, P. C.*

In 1486. Wheat, very dear; and Bay-Salt the same Price. *Fabian.*

| | | | |
|--|----|----|-----|
| | 01 | 04 | 00. |
|--|----|----|-----|

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| In 1489. Oats, the Quarter, <i>P. C.</i> | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| In 1491. Wheat, the Quarter, <i>Fab.</i> | 00 | 14 | 08 |
| In 1493. Oats, the Quart. Beans, <i>P. C.</i> | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| In 1494. Wheat (cheap, and Bay-Salt the same) <i>Fab.</i> | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| In 1495. Wheat, <i>Fab.</i> | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| White Herrings, the Barrel, <i>Fab.</i> | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| In 1497. Wheat (very dear) <i>Fab.</i> | 10 | 00 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, <i>P. C.</i> | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| In 1498. Load of Hay, <i>P. C.</i> | 00 | 08 | 02 |
| Mr. <i>Stow</i> says Hay was usually at 5 s. but now it was 10 s. or 12 s. | | | |
| In 1499. Wheat, <i>per</i> Quart. | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Bay-Salt, the Quarter, | 00 | 02 | 08 |
| A Tun of Gascoign Wine, at, Mr. <i>Stow.</i> | 02 | 00 | 00 |

It is not for want of Pains, that you have no fuller Accounts of these foregoing 40 Years; for, I think, few publick Books have escaped my Diligence; and my private Ones have proved as bar-

ren. And so it will be for the 40 Years and more that follow; our *Chroniclers* wanted the Care and Observation of their Predecessors; and setting up for Politicians, quite neglected (as they thought them) lesser Matters. And, by a strange Fortune, I have read the *Computus's*, or Accompts, of a *Publick Body*, where there was always good House-keeping, and have not yet been able, for the Space of 40 Years, to find what Price a Quarter of Wheat bore, tho' they spent a great many every Month. Your College-Books may supply these Wants, if you will now and then relax from Studies of more Attention, to inspect these lighter Matters, which will not make you a less useful Member of your Society.

In 1504. *Antiq. Canterb. Appendix*, p. 27. Wheat, the Quarter, at

| l. | s. | d. |
|----|----|-----|
| 00 | 05 | 08 |
| | | Red |

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Red Wine, <i>per Dolium</i> , | 04 | 00 | 00 |
| Claret Wine, <i>per Dolium</i> , | 03 | 13 | 04 |
| White Wine, elect | 03 | 06 | 08 |
| Malvesy, a Butt, | 04 | 00 | 00 |
| Ale of London, <i>per Dol.</i> | 01 | 10 | 00 |
| Ale of Canterbury <i>per Dol.</i> | 01 | 05 | 00 |
| Beer, <i>per Dol.</i> | 01 | 03 | 04 |
| <p><i>Dolium</i>, I believe, does here signifie a <i>Pipe</i>, or <i>Butt</i>, which contains an 126 Gallons. So that the Ale of London comes to very near 3 <i>d.</i> the Gallon. The Red Wine at 7 <i>d.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$.</p> | | | |
| In 1505. A Load of Hay, at | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| Oats, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| In 1506. Oats, by the Quarter, at | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Beans, the Quarter, at | 00 | 03 | 08 |
| In 1507. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 03 | 06 |
| A Hogthead of Red Wine, | 01 | 06 | 08 |
| In 1508. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 01 | 10 |
| In 1510. Oats, _____ | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Load of Hay, _____ | 00 | 09 | 00 |
| In 1511. Load of Hay, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| Oats, _____ | 00 | 02 | 00 |

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| In 1512. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 02 | 00 |
| Beans, ——— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| In 1513. Oats, ——— | 00 | 02 | 04 |
| In 1515. Beans, <i>P.C.</i> | 00 | 04 | 02 |
| In 1521 A Dearth. Wheat was by the Quart. (Mr. Stow) | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| In 1526. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| Beans, at ——— | 00 | 04 | 02 |
| In 1530. Oats, the Quart. | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Beans, the Quarter, ——— | 00 | 05 | 04 |
| In 1532. Oats, the Quart | 00 | 02 | 08 ¹ / ₄ |
| Beans, ——— | 00 | 05 | 04 |

In 1533. It will not be amiss, to insert a little Piece of History, out of honest Mr. *Stow*, to our present Purpose, under this present Year.

‘ It was this Year enacted,
‘ That Butchers should sell
‘ their Beef, and Mutton, by
‘ *Weight*: Beef for a *Half-*
‘ *Penny* the Pound, and Mut-
‘ ton for *Three Farthings*:
‘ Which being devised for
‘ the great Commodity of
‘ the Realm (as it was
‘ thought) hath proved far
‘ otherwise. For at that

[time,

time, (i. e. 1533.) fat
 Oxen were sold for XXVI s.
 VIII d. fat Weathers for
 III s. IV d. fat Calves of
 the like Price. A fat Lamb
 for XII d. The Butchers
 of London sold Penny-Pieces
 of Beef, for the relief of
 the Poor; every Piece two
 Pound and an half: some-
 times 3 Pound for a Penny.
 And 13, sometimes 14 of
 these Pieces for XII d.
 Mutton VIII d. the Quar-
 ter. And an 100 Weight
 of Beef for IV s. VIII d.
 What Price it hath grown
 to since, it needeth not to
 be set down. At this
 Time also, and not before,
 were Foreign Butchers per-
 mitted to sell their Flesh
 in *Leaden-Hall* Market of
London.

I suppose by *Foreign* But-
 chers, he means such as li-
 ved not, or had not served
 their Apprenticeship, in *Lon-
 don*.

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| In 1535. Oats, by the Quarter, at ———— | 00 | 02 | 08 |
| In 1537. Oats the Quart. | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| In 1543. Oats, ———— | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| Beans, ———— | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| In 1551. Wheat, by the Quarter, ———— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Malt, at ———— | 00 | 05 | 01 |
| 2 Quarts of Malmsey, | 00 | 00 | 08 |
| Oats the Quarter, | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| A Load of Straw, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| A Load of Coals, | 00 | 12 | 00 |

Whenever you meet with *Coals*, in old Accounts, you are to understand thereby *Charcoal*, not *Seacoal*; which has not been in common use (as well as I can guess) 150 Years; at least not in *London*: Tho' I find them, in *M. Paris* under the Name of *Carbo Marimus*, in the Time of *II. III.* in Additament.

| | | | |
|----------------------------|----|----|----|
| In 1552. Barly, the Quart. | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1553. Wheat, | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Molt, ———— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| A Ten of Wine, | 05 | 00 | 00 |
| Malcadel the Quart, at | 00 | 00 | 06 |

Malvesey,

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Malvesy, the Quart, | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| Red Wine, the Quart, | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| In 1554. Wheat, the Quar- | | | |
| ter, at _____ | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, the Quarter, | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| Malt, at _____ | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1555. Wheat, the Quar | | | |
| ter, at _____ | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, the Quarter, | 00 | 16 | 00 |
| Malt, the Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1556. Wheat, the Quart. | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Malt, the Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Beans, the Quarter, | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| In 1557. Wheat, the Quart. | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, the Quarter, | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Malt, the Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| For threshing a Quarter | | | |
| of Wheat, _____ | 00 | 01 | 01 |
| For threshing a Quarter | | | |
| of Rye, _____ | 00 | 00 | 10 |
| For threshing a Quarter | | | |
| of Barly, _____ | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| Mr. <i>Stow</i> says that in this | | | |
| Year, before Harvest, Wheat | | | |
| was, <i>per</i> Quarter, _____ | 02 | 13 | 04 |
| Malt, <i>per</i> Quarter, | 02 | 04 | 00 |
| Beans and Rye, <i>per</i> Quart. | 02 | 00 | 00 |
| Pease, <i>per</i> Quarter, _____ | 02 | 06 | 08 |

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| But after Harvest Wheat was at <i>London</i> , per Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Malt, per Quarter, | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| Rye, per Quarter, | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| But in the Country Wheat was, per Quarter, ——— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Malt per Quarter, | 00 | 04 | 08 |
| Rye, ——— ——— | 00 | 02 | 08 |

So that a Penny-Wheat-Loaf, which before Harvest was 11 Ounces, was after Harvest 56 Ounces. My *Private Computus*, takes no Notice of these *Advances* and *Falls*, to which I return, and shall only insert, now and then, what Mr. Stow says.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| In 1558. Wheat, the Quart. | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, ——— ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Barly, ——— ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| A good Sheep, ——— | 00 | 02 | 10 |
| In 1559. Wheat, ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, ——— ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| In 1560. Wheat, ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, ——— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Barly, at ——— ——— | 00 | 05 | 02 |
| For a Load of old Hay, | 00 | 12 | 06 |
| For a Load of (I suppose New) Hay, ——— | 00 | 06 | 08 |

Oats,

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1561. Wheat, the Quart. | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Rye, ————— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Malt, the Quarter, ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Oats, the Quarter, | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| In 1562. Wheat, ————— | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Barley, ————— ——— | 00 | 07 | 00 |
| For a Load of Hay, ——— | 00 | 13 | 04 |
| For a Load of Straw, | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| For a Hogsheaf of Claret- Wine, ————— ——— | 02 | 10 | 00 |
| In 1563. Rye, the Quart. | 00 | 13 | 04 |
| Oats, the Quarter, ——— | 00 | 05 | 00 |

I would not have been weary of transcribing such Accounts as these, if I had judged the knowledge of them, any thing to your Purpose; but I perceive the Way was now, and had been so for some Years before, as well as many that follow, to settle the Price of Corn betwixt the *Landlord* and *Tenant*, without regard to what it *truly* was. *Wheat* was generally fix'd to 8 *s.* the Quarter, and *Malt*, and *Oats* at 5. But finding

it so for 20, 30, or 40 Years together, you may reasonably conclude, that was not the true Market-Price, because it is not in the nature of the Thing possible, that Corn should be so long at the same stand. But yet if you take Things for 20 Years together, 'tis likely that such a Price might be equal enough, betwixt the Landlord and the Tenant, and therefore well agreed upon. When, therefore, I have given you an Observation or two, of Mr. *Stow's*, relating to the Publick, I will shut up this long Chapter, with an Account of the Price of Corn for these last 60 Years, such as was indeed, the *real* Price, and not of *Composition* or Agreement; of which you are to make the best Use you can, in order to the Satisfaction you require.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| In 1574. Such a Dearth at <i>Lond.</i> that Wheat was, the Quarter, at ——— | 02 | 16 | 00 |
| Beef (at <i>Lammas</i>) so dear, that a Stone came to | 00 | 01 | 10 |
| And 5 Herrings, (so dear) | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| Bay Salt (never so dear) the Bushel sold at ——— | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| After Harvest Wheat was, the Quarter, ——— ——— | 01 | 04 | 00 |
| and so continued about a Year. | | | |
| In 1587. Wheat was, at <i>London</i> , by the Quarter, and in other Places at 10 s. 12 s. and 13 s. the Bushel. This was occasioned by excessive Transportation. | 03 | 04 | 00 |
| In 1594. Wheat, the Quarter, at ——— ——— | 02 | 16 | 00 |
| Rye, ——— ——— | 02 | 00 | 00 |
| In 1595. Wheat (by much Transportation). the Quarter, at ——— ——— | 02 | 13 | 04 |
| A Hens Egg, at ——— | 00 | 00 | 01 |
| Or, at best, 3 Eggs for | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| A Pound of sweet Butter, | 00 | 00 | 07 |
| Our Sins (as Mr. <i>Stow</i> says) deserving it. | | | |

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| In 1596. Wheat (by reason of great Rains) the Quarter, at ———— | 04 | 00 | 00 |
| Rye, ———— | 02 | 08 | 00 |
| Oat-meal, by the Bushel, | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| In 1597. Wheat fell from 5 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> the Quarter, to | 04 | 00 | 00 |
| Rye, from 9 <i>s.</i> the Bush. to 6 <i>s.</i> and then to 3 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> and then rose again to the greatest Price. Bp. <i>Goodwin</i> in his <i>Annals</i> , 1557, says that in this Year 1597, Wheat was 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> the Bush. | | | |
| In 1598. Pepper, so dear as that a Pound was sold at | 00 | 08 | 00 |
| Raisins, at ———— | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| Gascoign Wine, the Gallon, at ———— | 00 | 02 | 08 |
| Sweet-Wine, the Gallon, at | 00 | 04 | 00 |

Now follows the Account, I promised you, of the true Market-Price of *Wheat*, and *Malt*, for 60 Years last past.

| <i>Years.</i> | <i>Wheat, Qur.</i> | <i>Malt, Qur.</i> |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1646 | 02 08 00 | 01 09 00 |
| 47 | 03 13 08 | 01 17 00 |
| 48 | 04 05 00 | 02 00 00 |
| 49 | 04 00 00 | 02 02 00 |
| 1650 | 03 16 08 | 01 18 06 |
| 51 | 03 13 04 | 01 09 00 |
| 52 | 02 09 06 | 01 08 00 |
| 53 | 01 15 06 | 01 08 00 |
| 54 | 01 06 00 | 01 00 08 |
| 55 | 01 13 04 | 01 00 00 |
| 56 | 02 03 00 | 01 04 00 |

Years.

| <u>Years.</u> | <u>Wheat, Qur.</u> | <u>Malt, Qur.</u> |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1657 | 02 06 08 | 01 08 04 |
| 58 | 03 05 00 | 01 09 04 |
| 59 | 03 06 00 | 02 08 08 |
| 1660 | 02 16 06 | 01 12 08 |
| 61 | 03 10 00 | 01 13 04 |
| 62 | 03 14 00 | 02 02 00 |
| 63 | 02 17 00 | 01 12 08 |
| 64 | 02 00 06 | 01 10 00 |
| 65 | 02 09 04 | 01 08 04 |
| 66 | 01 16 00 | 01 06 00 |
| 67 | 01 16 00 | 01 02 08 |
| 68 | 02 00 00 | 01 04 00 |
| 69 | 02 04 04 | 01 07 04 |
| 1670 | 02 01 08 | 01 06 06 |
| 71 | 02 02 00 | 01 05 04 |

Years.

| <u>Years.</u> | <u>Wheat, Qur.</u> | <u>Malt, Qur.</u> |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1672 | 02 01 00 | 01 02 00 |
| 73 | 02 06 08 | 01 04 00 |
| 74 | 03 08 08 | 01 14 00 |
| 75 | 03 04 08 | 01 14 00 |
| 76 | 01 18 00 | 01 06 00 |
| 77 | 02 02 00 | 01 08 00 |
| 78 | 02 19 00 | 01 08 08 |
| 79 | 03 00 00 | 01 06 08 |
| 1680 | 02 05 00 | 01 02 08 |
| 81 | 02 06 08 | 01 04 08 |
| 82 | 02 04 00 | 01 03 00 |
| 83 | 02 00 00 | 01 08 08 |
| 84 | 02 04 00 | 01 05 04 |
| 85 | 02 06 08 | 01 08 00 |
| 86 | 01 14 00 | 01 05 04 |

Years.

| <i>Years.</i> | <i>Wheat, Qur.</i> | | | <i>Malt, Qur.</i> | | |
|---------------|--------------------|----|----|-------------------|----|----|
| 1687 | 01 | 05 | 02 | 01 | 04 | 00 |
| 88 | 02 | 06 | 00 | 01 | 02 | 00 |
| 89 | 01 | 10 | 00 | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| 1690 | 01 | 14 | 08 | 00 | 19 | 04 |
| 91 | 01 | 14 | 00 | 00 | 17 | 04 |
| 92 | 02 | 06 | 08 | 01 | 04 | 04 |
| 93 | 03 | 07 | 08 | 01 | 10 | 00 |
| 94 | 03 | 04 | 00 | 01 | 12 | 00 |
| 95 | 02 | 13 | 00 | 01 | 12 | 00 |
| 96 | 03 | 11 | 00 | 01 | 08 | 00 |
| 97 | 03 | 00 | 00 | 01 | 08 | 00 |
| 98 | 03 | 08 | 04 | 01 | 12 | 00 |
| 99 | 03 | 04 | 00 | 01 | 19 | 04 |
| 1700 | 02 | 00 | 00 | 01 | 11 | 04 |
| 1701 | 01 | 17 | 08 | 01 | 04 | 00 |
| 1702 | 01 | 09 | 06 | 01 | 08 | 00 |
| 1703 | 01 | 16 | 00 | 01 | 03 | 04 |
| 1704 | 02 | 06 | 06 | 01 | 08 | 00 |
| 1705 | 01 | 10 | 00 | 01 | 06 | 00 |

In this Computation, you are to know, that in every Year there are two Prices of Corn, the one of *Lady-Day*, the other of *Michaelmas*; both which I put together, and take the half, for the common Price of that whole Year. Of the first 20 Years of these last 60, the common Price of Wheat, was 2 *l.* 17 *s.* 5 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the Quarter.

Malt was 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 0 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. the Quarter.

The common Price of the second Score of Years was,

Wheat at 2 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. the Quarter.

Malt at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the Quarter.

The common Price for these last 20 Years past was,

Wheat at 2 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the Quarter.

Malt at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the Quarter.

From whence it appears, that, one Year with another, for these last sixty, Wheat has been, the Quarter, at _____

l. s. d.
02 09 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

And Malt (abating the Fractions) at _____

01 07 07 $\frac{1}{4}$

Which is, 6 s. 2 d. ob. q. the Bushel of Wheat, and 3 s. 5 d. q. the Bushel of Malt, and somewhat above.

Tho' I ought to acquaint the Reader, that the Market I have computed by, is somewhat higher than those at a very great distance from *London*; in which, if we allow Wheat to have been at 40 s. and Malt at 24 s. the Quarter, we shall come nearer to the Truth, in general.

C H A P. V.

Of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures,
Portions, Day-labour, &c.

IN the Council held at Oxford, 1222. It was decreed, That where the Churches had no greater Revenues than V Marks per An. they should be conferred on none, but such as should constantly reside in Person, on the Place. *Spelman, Conc. Angl. Tom. 2.*

A single Priest might therefore subsist on V Marks, but he could not afford to keep a Curate.

Accordingly *Ste. Langton, A. B. Cant.*, in the same Year decrees, That the *Perpetual Vicar* shall have V Marks assign'd him, *i. e.* as much as may be farmed out for V Marks. Except in *Wales*, where by reason of the smalness of the *Living*s (and plenty, I suppose, of Provisions) the Vicars are contented with less Stipends. *Ibid.*

In 1287. *Peter Quivil, B. of Exon, in Synodo Exoniensi*, decrees, That in every *Parochial Church*, the *Perpetual Vicarage*, should be endowed with, at least, V Marks

per An. that he may, in some Measure, keep Hospitality; and in case he grow old, sickly, or impotent, may be thereby sustained. This must be done, if the Living be really worth *XL Marks per An.* But if it be of better value, the Vicar's Portion must be increased.

And as for a *Curate* (whom he here calls *(a) Parochialis Sacerdos*) he decrees the *Rector* shall pay him *40 s. per An.* for his Stipend: and says, if the *Rectors* think themselves agrieved by this, they may do their Work themselves, and save that Money. He also mentions *Sacerdotes Auxiliarii*, *(b)* and decrees, that they shall have *50 s. per An.* at least; and if they have agreed for less *(c)*, such Agreement to be void. *Concil. Ang.*

(a) I should have thought, that *Sacerdos* (join'd especially with *Parochialis*) should have signified a *Parish-Priest*, *Rector*, or *Vicar*, as distinguish'd from his *Capellanus*, or *Curate*; but he seems to be here, a mere Stipendiary *Curate*, and removable, whenever the *Rector* will do his Business himself. *(b)* Why an *Auxiliary*, or Assistant Priest, should have *50 s. per An.* when the *Curate* had but *40*, I cannot see: But there is very good Reason, why such under-hand Bargains *(c)* should

should be made void, which were so much to the Prejudice of poor Curates. And therefore (before this *Constitution*) in 1253. among the *Articles of Inquiry*, for all the Dioceses of *England*, one was, Whether any *Rectors* had made a Bargain with their *Curates*, that, besides the Stipends they received from the *Rectors*, they might receive from others, *Annualia*, & *Tricennalia*; because this permitting of the Curate, to be a *Mass Priest*, and to perform *Annualia*, & *Tricennalia*, was to save the Rector, from giving so fair and reasonable a Stipend, as he ought. *Annal. Burton*, in 1253. Note, That *Annualia*, were such Oblations, as were made by the Relations of the Deceased, upon the Day the Party died, *every Year*: which Day, our Fathers called the *Years-Day*, or *Years-Mind*, and, upon it, *Mass* was celebrated with great solemnity, by one of the most considerable Clergy-men, that could be procured, according to the Quality of the Deceased. *Tricennalia* were called *Trentals*, from *Trigintalia*, and in English, a *Months-Mind*, because the Service lasted a Month, or 30 Days, in which they said so many Masses. As M. Du Fresne observes on the word *Tricenarium, Officium XXX Missarum, quod totidem diebus*

peragitur, pro Defunctis, vel Obventiones quæ obveniunt Sacerdotibus, ratione ejusdem Officii.

In 1289. *Gilb. Cicestr.* decrees, the Curates, in poor Churches, must have V Marks, for their Stipend; in richer Churches, they must have more.

In 1306. *W. Grenesfeld, A. B. Ebor.* decrees the same thing. *Concil. Angl.*

In 1308. *Rob. de Winchelsea, A. B. Cant.* decrees, that no Curate shall serve under V Marks per An. *Idem, ibid.*

In 1348. *H. Knighton* says, that the great Pestilence had swept away so many Priests, among other People, that a Chaplain could hardly be gotten to serve a Church, under X Marks, or X Pounds per An. whereas before, they might be had at V, or IV Marks, nay at 2, together with their Diet: and Men would hardly accept of a Vicarage of 20 Marks or 20 l. per An. pag. 2600. This, I suppose was, because Vicars were thought to be obliged to stricter Residence, which, in Pestilential Seasons, was, doubtless, hazardous.

In 1360. *J. Thoresby, A. B. York,* decrees the same thing with his Predecessor *Grenesfeld* in 1306. *Concil. Ang. V. 2.*

In 1362. *Simon Iselip*, A. B. Cant. decrees, that Chaplains *Annalia Celebrantes*, and having *no Cure of Souls*; shall be content with *V Marks per An.* and they who have *Cure of Souls*, with *VI Marks*, unless the Diocesan, for good Cause, shall order more. But *Mr. Stow* observes upon it, that it occasion'd many of them to turn Robbers. *p. 265.*

The same A. B. the Month after, complains that the Priests grew wanton, and were not content with reasonable Stipends, for serving *Parish Cures*; but went about, rather chusing to say *Masses*, for the Living and the Dead, and get what they could that way, than fix in any certain Place: and therefore orders and appoints the same Salaries above-named; and if any One took any more, under any Pretence whatever, they should be punished. *Concil. Angl.* This had been highly unreasonable, unless *V* or *VI Marks*, had been, at that Time, thought a sufficient Maintenance for a single Person. And so accordingly about that Time, we find it was the usual Salary.

In 1371. *In Stipendiis unius Capellani*,
 02 l. 13 s. 04 d. *Burton Ant. Leicest.*
 87.

In 1378. *Simon Sudbury*, A. B. Cant. repeats the Decrees of his Predecessor *Simon Iselip*, and makes the same Complaints. And decrees, that every such unfix'd *Mafs-Priest*, should content himself with VII *Marks per An.* either all in Money; or with Diet and III *Marks* in Money. And he that takes a *Cure*, to content himself with VIII *Marks*, or with IV *Marks* and his Diet. And all this, under pain of Excommunication. *Concil. Angl.*

This Matter seem'd to be of such importance, that the Parliament, in 39 E. III. made Rules about it, in these Terms. c. 8.

‘ If any Secular Man of the Realm, pay
 ‘ any more than V *Marks*, to any Priest
 ‘ yearly, in Money, or in other Things;
 ‘ to the valure; or if he pay to such
 ‘ Priest retained to abide at his Table,
 ‘ above two Marks for his Gown, and
 ‘ his other Necessaries, (his Table ac-
 ‘ counted to 40 Shillings) and thereof
 ‘ be attainted, He shall pay to the King,
 ‘ fully as much as he paid to the said
 ‘ Priest. And this was renewed in 1414,
 2 H. V. St. 2. c. 2. in the following
 manner.

‘ No yearly Chaplain, within the Realm,
 ‘ shall take, from henceforth, more for
 ‘ his whole Wages, by Year (that is to
 ‘ say,

' say, for his Board, Apparel, and other
 ' Necessaries) but VII *Marks*. Nor the
 ' Parish-Priests which be, or shall be re-
 ' tain'd to serve Cures, shall take, from
 ' henceforth, for their whole Wages, by
 ' Year (that is to say, for the Things
 ' aforesaid) but VIII *Marks*: unless it
 ' be by License of the Ordinary. So that
 ' the whole Summ pass not IX *Marks*.
 And in 27 *H. VI.* a Pardon was pass'd
 for such Priests as had offended against
 these *Acts*.

In 1421. *H. Chichely*, A. B. *Cant.* at
 the very importunate Instance of his Cler-
 gy, in *Convocation*, does, with the Consent
 and Advice of his Suffragans, confirm and
 ratifie the Decree of his Predecessor, *S. Sud-*
bury in 1378, repeating the very Words
 of it. *Idem, ibid.*

And in 1439, (which is very near to
 the Time you are inquiring after) the
 same A. B. *Chichely*, in *Convocation* also,
 decrees, That Vicarages shall be augmen-
 ted (by the Rectors, or Appropriators)
 to XII *Marks per An.* if the whole Bene-
 fice be worth so much, to support the
 Burthens incident to Vicarages. *Id. ibid.*

Vicarages were at first, free from all
 Incumbrances and Burthens; but by the
 Artifice of the *Monks*, and *Religious*, the
 Favour

Favour they found at *Rome*, the Compliance of the *Bishops*, and by other Means, they came, by degrees, to bear almost equal Charges, with the *Rectors*, tho' much less able to do it. And therefore, tho' it was very well, and wisely done by this Arch-Bishop to augment Vicarages to XII *Marks*, yet considering the Charges and Burthens incident to Vicarages, they were not much advantaged by it; for a *Vicarage* of XII *Marks*, with its Burthens, may not be so good as a *Curacy* with VII or VIII *Marks*, without Incumbrance.

And therefore, even in 1439, (which is very near to the Time of the Foundation of your *College*) a single Man was thought to be provided for, by a Stipend of VIII *Marks*, which is but VI s. VIII d. above the Summ you are inquiring about. You may therefore very reasonably conclude, that, about that Time, a single Man might live cleanly and decently, with good Management, with V l. per An. because it is not to be presumed, that an *Arch Bishop*, at the Head of his Clergy, and at their Request too, should decree such an Allowance for officiating Clergymen, as would not keep them (if virtuous Men and sober) decently and cleanly.

Let

Let us see also, a little, to the Allowance of *Chantry-Priests*, and such like.

In 1237. *H. III.* gives VIII *l.* out of the Exchequer for 3 Chaplains, to do Duty daily in the *Temple-Church, London*, which is IV *Marks per An.* each. In *Monasticon Angl.* V. 2. p. 521.

In 1242. *Alexander B. Cov.* and *Lichf.* erected an Office of Chanter in that Church, and allowed for his Salary VI *l. X s.* *Ang. Sac.* P. I. p. 446.

In 1313. *E. II.* ordained and commanded, that his Chappel of *St. Edward*, in the *Castle of Windsor*, should be kept and served in the manner following.

First, To the honour of *God*, of our *Lady*, and *Saint Edward*, for him and his Ancestors, it is ordain'd there be four Chaplains, who shall be Men of good Condition, and Discreet; of which one shall be Head-Chaplain of the Chappel, and the other three shall be his Seconds, or Assistants.

2. Also two *Clerks*, of good Condition, and that chant well, and in all Points attendant on the Head-Chaplain, and on the others, as oft as there shall be occasion for the Service of the Chappel.

3. Each of the aforesaid Chaplains, shall sing *Mass* every Day, without some
good

good Cause to the contrary ; so that every Morning there be two Masses, by *Note*, the one of *our Lady*, the other of *the Day* : the other two of *Requiem*, for the Souls of the Ancestors of our Lord the King.

4. The Head-Chaplain, to defray his whole Expence, is to receive X *Marks per An.* Each of the other Three an C s. the two Clerks, each of them L s.

5. And the King's *Chancellor*, whoever he be, because he is the Head of the King's Chappel, shall make, once every Year, a Journey thither, if he can be dispensed with by the King, to see that the said Chappel be served with Ornaments, Library, and Chantry, in the above-appointed manner ; and make out his *Breve de Liberatæ*, for the said Ministers, to be paid their Wages, duly, twice a Year.

6. And if any of the above-said six Chaplains, or Clerks shall die, or be removed, the said Chancellor shall put a sufficient Person in his Place. The Title of this Record is, *De Providentiis pro Capella Windesoræ* : and it is in Mr. Rymer's 3d Vol. of *Fœdera*, &c.

It appears (5.) that the *Chancellor*, was the *Head of the King's Chappel* ; and in the Life of *Thomas Becket* (Chancellor

to H. II.) written by one who lived at the same Time with him, that it was part of the Chancellor's Office, *ut Capella Regia, illius sit dispositione & Cura*. This seems to be the Reason of the Lord Chancellor's being (altho' no Clergyman) the Visitor of the College of Dean and Canons of *St. George in Windsor Castle*, founded by *Ed. III.* his Son, which is *the King's Free Chappel*, who was also born at that Place, of which there is this Memorandum, in the same Vol. 3. 1312. which, it will not be much out of my Way, to transcribe in this Place.

Memorand. *Isabella* the Queen was brought to Bed, in *Windsor Castle*, on Monday the next after the Feast of *S. Martin*, in Winter, in the Year of Grace 1312. the 6 *E. 2.* of her first-born Son; and in *S. Edward's Chappel* in the same Castle, he was christned the Thursday following, by the Cardinal *S. Priscæ*. His God-fathers were *A. Pictaviensis* Chamberlain to the Pope; *J. Bp. of Bath and Wells*; *W. Bp. of Worcester*; *Lewis Count d' Eureux*; *John of Brittany* Earl of *Richmond*; *Aymary de Valence* E. of *Pembrook*, and *Hugh le Despenser*.

In 1315. Two Chanters were appointed in the Church of *Lichfield*, and had, each for his Salary, V l. XV s. *Angl. Sac.* P. I.

In 1332. *Elizabeth de Burgh* makes an Agreement with the *Prior and Convent of Anglesey in Cambridgesh.* for XX l. per An. which she gives that two Chaplains shall be maintain'd, with each a convenient *Mansie*, or Dwelling-house, and Diet, and XX s. for Robes and other Necessaries: or else to allow them XII Marks, to find themselves in all Things; unless the *Prior and Convent* can agree with them for less. And in 1335, she discharges the *Prior and Convent* of one of those Chaplains, upon their paying to *Rob. de Spalding*, an Annual Pension of an C s. and gives them moreover a Rent-Charge of XI s. XI d. *Monast.* Vol. 2. p. 259.

These Chaplains therefore were thought able to live, each upon VI Marks, i. e. 4 Pounds per An.

Between 1345, and 1381, *Thom.* of *Hatfield*, B. of *Durham*, founded a College for 8 Monks, and 7 young Men, to study the Liberal Sciences; and allowed to each Monk IV l. and to each Student V Marks. *Angl. Sac.* 3.

In 1350. Two Priests, to officiate alternately, during the whole Year, every Day, at the Church of *Sberifhoton* in the Diocese of *York*; to pray for the Souls of *R. Nevil* *Ld. Raby*, &c. for VII Marks between them. In *Mr. Maddox's Formulæ*, p. 450.

In 1373. The Master of the Hospital of *Fosse-gate* in *Yorksh.* is to be a Clergyman, of good Fame, and Discretion; and is to have for his whole Maintenance, the Summ of X Marks per An. And if the Revenues increase upon his Management, he is to get another Chaplain to assist him, who, for his Pains, is to have VII Marks per An. And they must, both of them, constantly reside, and constantly officiate, on the Place. *Monast. V. 3. p. 99.*

In 1400. *John Plumtree* of *Nottingham*, erected two Chauntries, with two Chaplains to attend daily: to each of whom he allowed an Cs. or V l. per An. *Monast. V. 2. p. 448.*

In 1408. *Fabian* sets it down, that the Stipend of a Mass-Priest, was VII Marks.

And, not to multiply Instances of this kind, of which you cannot fail of meeting many, in all our Histories; There is a College in the University of *Cambridge*, founded about the Year 1450, in which
the

the statutable Allowance to each *Fellow*, is *V l. per an.* to find him in Diet, Clothes, and all other Necessaries.

You must now be content, with *Miscellanies*, the order of Time however being observed.

Betwixt 871, and 900, King *Alfred* left, by Will, to each of his Daughters, an *Hundred Pounds* in Money. *Mr. Cambden* (in his *Remains*) says 400 *l.* But it appears by the *Will*, printed at the end of *Alfred's* Life at *Oxford*, that the 400 *l.* was divided betwixt his 3 Daughters, and one *Alswith* : But the Reader must not think that this was the *whole* of their Portion, for he had settled *Lands* on each of them before, but this was all he left them in *Money*.

In 1087. When *W. Rufus* came to inquire into the Treasure his Father had laid up, at *Winchester*, he found it by weight 60000 *l.* of Silver, besides Gold and Jewels. He gave by his Father's Order, and for the good of his Soul, to each *Great Church* (*i.e.* Abbey, Convent, or Cathedral) X *Marks*. To each less one V *Marks*. to every *Parish Church* V *s.* and to the *Poor* of every *County* an C *l.* Thus *Ingulfus*, who lived at the same Time.

In 1101. The Composition betwixt *H. I.* and *Robert* his elder Brother, was, that *Robert* should have 3000 *l. per An.* in Weight. *Pet. Blæsens. Contin.* The words, *in Weight*, are put in, to signifie that the Money should not be clipped, for a Pound by *Tale* was at this Time, and long after, most certainly a Pound *in Weight*.

In 1135. When King *Stephen* was crowned, he seised the Treasure which *H. I.* had left, which came to 100000 *l.* besides Gold and Silver Vessels, with other Jewels inestimable. *Tho. Rudborn, Hist. Winton.* p. 284.

In 1193. The Ransome of *R. I.* was an 100000 *Marks* in Silver. *Rad. de Diceto*, says they were *Pounds*. But *Mr. Rymer's* Volumes are of greater Authority, than any private Writer's Works, being made up of *Records*.

In 1201. *K. John* agreed to pay *Beren-garia*, the Dowager Queen of *R. I.* a 1000 *Marks per An.* for her Dowry, which he increased, in 1215, to a 1000 *Pounds per An.* *M. Rymer, in Anno.*

In 1207. *Amph. Till.* being taken Prisoner by *K. John*, was put to Ransom, at 10000 *Marks*, in part of which he is to pay X Horses, at the rate of 30 *Marks* a-piece, or in lieu of them 300 *Marks*.

L

Who

Who this Man was, I cannot find, but his Horses were certainly as high-prized as they could well be.

In 1221. *Joan*, eldest Daughter to K. *John*, married to *Alexander* K. of *Scotland*, had a Dowry of 1000 *l. per An. Rymer.*

In 1226. *H. III.* confirms the Dowry of *Isabella* his Mother, and says it was the same that *Elleanor* his Grand-Mother had, and makes the same to *Elleanor* his own Wife, the E. of *Provence's* Daughter, in 1235, with whom he was to have 20000 *Marks* for Portion. But the *private Instructions* were, to accept of 15000, or 10000, or 7000, or 5000, or 3000. Nay, she was to be brought away, tho' they could get nothing at all with her. *Rymer.*

In 1236. *Isabella*, Sister to *H. III.* was contracted to the Emperor *Frederic*, with 30000 *Marks. Idem.*

In 1254. *Edward*, the Son of *H. III.* promises a Dowry of 1000 *l. per An.* to *Elleanor* the K. of *Castile's* Daughter, whilst he is Prince; but says, when she comes to be Queen, he will add 500 *Marks per An.* more. And upon this Marriage, *H. III.* settles 15000 *Marks per An.* on the Prince. *Idem.*

In 1278. *E. I.* gives, with his Daughter *Joan*, contracted to *Hartman*, Son to the K. of the *Romans*, 10000 *Marks Sterling*; which are to be return'd in case that *Hartman* die before her, together with what Presents the said Husband shall ever make to her. *Idem.*

In 1294. *E. I.* took into his hands, all the Estates of the *Priories-alien*, allowing to every *Monk*, 1 s. 6 d. per *Week*, which comes to, 3 l. 18 s. by the Year. And therefore, I suppose, a *Monk* might live tolerably well on that Allowance. For the King was not angry with the *Monks*; but these *Priories* were *Cells* to *Monasteries* in *France*, (with which Nation the K. was now at open War) and whatever Surplusage there was, after the Charges of the *Cells* at Home were defraid, it was sent to the *Monasteries*, or principal Houses abroad; which was indeed feeding the King's Enemies.

In 1299. *Ed. I.* contracts with *Margaret* Daughter to the K. of *France*: 18000 l. *Turonens.* (four of which make one Pound Sterling) being agreed upon for her Dowry. This in English Money came to 4500 l. per An. But in 1315, he increased it to 5000 l. per An. *Rymer.*

In 1301. The Widow of *Edmund E.* of *Cornwal* (Son to the K. of the *Romans*, and Nephew to *H. III.*) was, at the request of several Lords in Parliament, endowed with a Jointure of 500 *l. per An.* by *E. I. Tho. Walsingham.*

In 1302. *E. I.* promises, to *Isabella* Daughter to the K. of *France*, contracted to his Son *Edward*, 4500 *l. per An. Rymer.*

In 1306. *E. I.* leaves to his Son *Thomas* 10000 *Marks*, to his Son *Edmond* 7000 *Marks per An.* and to *Elianor* his Daughter for her Portion 10000 *Marks*, and 5000 to buy her Apparel. *Idem.*

In 1307. *E. II.* confirms the Grant his Father *E. I.* had made to his Sister *Mary* a Nun at *Ambrosebury*, of 200 *l. per An.* 40 Oak-Trees for firing in her Chamber, and 20 *Dolia* (or Hogheads) of Wine, as long as she continued in the Nunnery, and lived in *England.* And the Reader will not, I believe, be displeas'd, to see the Care that was taken in those Days, for the Sustainment of the Daughter and the Sister of a King of *England*, in 1313. *hym.*

The King, to the Sheriff of Wiltes, greeting.

‘ **F**Or as much as We are indebted to
 ‘ our dearest Sister *Mary*, a *Nun* of
 ‘ *Ambrosbury*, in the Summ of 12 *l.* 7 *s.* 3 *d.*
 ‘ as well for Hay, Oats, Litter, and Shoo-
 ‘ ing, as for her Servants Wages, whilst
 ‘ she tarried at *Windsor*, in the Month of
 ‘ *December* last past, as also for her Ex-
 ‘ pences in travailing from *Windsor* to
 ‘ *Ambrosbury*, as in a Bill of our *Warde-*
 ‘ *robe*, delivered by our Sister into our
 ‘ Chancery, appears more at large. —
 ‘ We willing to satisfy our Sister, in this
 ‘ Particular, with all the speed we may,
 ‘ Do hereby command you, to pay to
 ‘ our said Sister, or her lawful Attorney,
 ‘ the said Summe, out of the Issues of
 ‘ your Bailifry, without delay; and We,
 ‘ in your Accounts at our Exchecquer,
 ‘ shall make all due Allowance for the
 ‘ same.

Witnesse, the King, at Windsor,
Jan. the 1st.

By a Bill of the Warderobe.

In 1309. The Pensions allowed by the K. to the *Cardinals*, and *great Officers* of the *Pope*, who were, as it were, retained by the Court of *England*, were, to some, an 100, but to most of them 50 *Marks per An.*

In 1310. *William de Morene* of *Saunford*, Kt. being taken Prisoner by the *Scots*, had allowed him by *E. II.* for his Wages, 4 *d.* the Day; and for his Robe, XX *s.* the Year. The better sort of Prisoners had 3 *d.* ordinary ones 2 *d.* the Day.

In this same Year, *A Man at Arms*, was allowed X *d.* a *Balistar* (a *Crosse-bowman*) 3 *d.* an Archer or Bow-man, 2 *d.* the Day. And the Price the K. paid for a *Balista*, was 3 *s.* 8 *d.* *Mr. Rymer's Collections in Annis.*

In 1311. When the Order of *Knights-Templars* was to be destroyed, their Persons imprisoned, and their Estates confiscated; many of their Servants, Chaplains, and Dependants, were, to be sure, utterly destitute, and undone: The King, *E. II.* thought himself obliged to make some Provision for them. Some of the *Knights* were committed to Monasteries, there to do Penance for their Offences; and to them the King allowed 4 *d.* a Day, which seems to have been their usual Allowance,

lowance, because in the *Mandate* to the B. of *Bath* and *Wells* to make this Allowance to 4 Knights, it is there said, *Sicut prius percipere consueverunt*. To the *Great Master, William de la More*, 2. s. To several of their *Chaplains*, the King allows (as the Knights did formerly) 3 *d.* a Day, for their Diet, and XX s. for their Stipend, which is, by the Year, VI. XI s. III *d.* To other Servants 2 *d.* and to inferior ones 1 *d.* and V, or X s. for their Stipend, or Livery. And for this, they were to do the same Service, they had done to the Knights, whilst the Lands were in their keeping. *Rymer's Collection.*

In 1314. *Elizab.* Wife of *Rob. Bruce* (King of *Scotland*) being Prisoner in *England*, is allowed, for her self and Family, XX s. by the Week. To *Rob. Wychard* Bp. of *Glasgow*, and *Will. de Lamberton* B. of *S. Andrewes*, Prisoners, is allowed, each of them 6 *d.* a Day, to a *Valet* 3 *d.* to a *Chaplain* 1 *d. ob.* and to their ordinary Servants 1 *d. ob. Idem.*

In 1316. *Ed. II.* gives to *Theophania*, a French Lady, a yearly Estate of 500 *l.* for ever, because she had been Nurse to *Isabella* his Queen. *Idem.*

In 1330. *Joan* of *Oxford*, Nurse to the *Black Prince*, had a Pension of X *l. per An.* and *Maud Plumpton* a *Rocker* had X *Marks*.
Dr. Kennet Paroch. Antiq.

In 1326. *Edward II.* being deposed, had an 100 *Marks*, by the Month allowed to maintain him; which is at the rate of 800 *l. per An.* *Walsingham.*

In 1495. When the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *Edw. IV.* and Sister to *Q. Elizab.* Wife of *H. VII.* was married to *Tho. L. Haward*, eldest Son to the E. of *Surry*, it was agreed, that she should be allowed, for her Sustainment, and convenient Diet, of Meat and Drink, XX *s.* by the Week. And for two Gentlewomen, a Woman Child (*i. e.* a Servant) a Gentleman, a Yoman, and three Grooms, (in all 8 People) 51 *l. 11 s. 8 d.* by the Year. And for Sustainment of 7 Horses, 16 *l. 9 s. 4 d.* *i. e.* for each Horse, 2 *l. 7 s. 0 d. ½.* *M. Mad-dox Formul. p. 109.*

In 1091. All the Men of *Croyland*, that will have any Turfe out of the *Abbot's Marsh*, must either work a Days-work, or give *Three Half-Pence* for one to cut Turves for *Croyland-Court.* *Ingulfus.*

The Serjeant of the Infirmary, shall, for his looking after the Sick, receive for his Reward (if the Party die) a Coat,

or 4 s. and every one that watched with the Deceased, shall have 2 d. for every Night. *Idem ibid.*

A Coat is reasonably valued at 4 s. but 2 d. a Night, for watching, was an extraordinary Recompence. This Serjeant of the Infirmary was to have his Livery of Meat, Drink, and Bread, and 4 s. *per An.* for Stipend. *Idem.*

In 1225. *Magna Charta*, C. 22. No Sheriff or Bailly of ours, shall take the Horses, and Carts, of any Man, for Carriage, except he pay the old Price limited, *i. e.* for Carriage with 2 Horses 10 d. by the Day: and for 3 Horses 14 d.

In Antiq. Constitut. Admiralitatis (but of what Age it appears not) it is thus appointed. *Si l' Admiral soit Bachelier, il prendra la jour, pour lui meme, sur la Mer, IVs. Si soit Baron, VI s. VIII d. Et s' il soit Count, XIII s. IV. d. Bachelier, is here, a Knight.* And I guess, as well by the *Language*, as the *Wages*, that this *Constitution* is not very ancient. *S. H. Spelman in V. Admiral.*

In 1329. Also they shall harrow for 3 Days, or shall pay 3 Pence, *i. e.* a Penny for a Days-work. It must not however, I think, be always concluded, from such Passages as these, that Men worked for a Penny, by the Day: because it seems to have

have been the Custom, in some Places, for some sort of *Holders*, to be obliged to perform such and such Works, for the *Chief Lord*, at such and such a Price. So in the word *Sesonis*, in *S. H. Spelman's Glossary. Extenta Manerii de Garinges. He is to work a Days-work, every Week, from Michaelmas, to the first of August, and for it, he is to receive for each Day, 3 Farthings. And from the first of August, to Michaelmas, he is to receive a Penny-Half-Penny; excepting the Winter-Season. Excepta Sefone hiemali.* See also the word *Lanceta*, where you will find much such another Custom.

In 1293. The *Parcarii* of the *Earl of Cornwall*, were to have 2 Meals, or 2 *d.* by the Day, but the *Earl* would needs have 3 *d.* which the *Inhabitants* complain of. *S. H. Spelman, in V Putura.*

I will, in the next Place, give you (out of *S. W. Dugdale's Origines Juridicales*) some Account of the *Judges Fees* or slated *Salaries*, but it is very imperfect, and only better than none at all.

| | |
|--|----------|
| In 1226. The Fee of a Justice was, <i>per An.</i> ——— | X Marks. |
| 1239. A Justice of the <i>Common-Pleas</i> , had ——— | XX Lib. |
| 1243. A Baron of the <i>Exchequer</i> , had ——— | XL M. |
| And in the same Year, a Bar. of the <i>Exch.</i> had but | XX M. |
| 1259. A Justice of the <i>K. Bench</i> had ——— | XL L. |
| 1260. A Just. of the <i>Com. Pl.</i> had ——— | C M. |
| And in the same Year a J. of the <i>Com. Pl.</i> had | XL L. |
| 1262. Chief Just. of the <i>Com. Pl.</i> had ——— | C L. |
| A Just. of the <i>C. Pl.</i> ——— | XL L. |
| 1265. A Bar. of the <i>Exch.</i> had ——— | XL L. |
| 1269. Chief Just. of the <i>K. Bench</i> had ——— | C M. |
| 1281. Chief Just. of <i>C. Pl.</i> had ——— | XL L. |
| A Justice of the <i>C. Pl.</i> had ——— | XL M. |
| 1299. Chief Just. of <i>K. Bench</i> had ——— | L M. |
| Chief Just. of <i>C. Pleas</i> had ——— | C M. |
| | Chief |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Chief Bar. of the <i>Exch.</i> had ——— ——— | XL <i>Lib.</i> |
| The Just. of Both <i>Benches</i> , and Barons of <i>Exch.</i> had each ——— ——— | XX <i>L.</i> |
| 1302. A Just. of <i>K. Bench</i> had ——— ——— | LXXX <i>M.</i> |
| 1364. Chief Bar. and the other Bar. of <i>Exch.</i> had each | XL <i>L.</i> |
| 1367. A Just. <i>Com. Pl.</i> had ——— ——— | XL <i>L.</i> |
| Chief Just. of <i>K. Bench</i> had ——— ——— | C <i>M.</i> |
| A Just. of <i>K. Bench</i> had | XL <i>L.</i> |
| 1382. A Just. of <i>C. Pl.</i> had ——— ——— | XL <i>M.</i> |
| 1399. Chief Bar. of <i>Exch.</i> and other Barons had ——— | XL <i>M.</i> |
| Chief Just. of <i>C. Pl.</i> had | XL <i>L.</i> |
| A Just. of <i>C. Pl.</i> had — | XL <i>M.</i> |
| 1402. Chief Just. of <i>K.</i> <i>Bench</i> had ——— ——— | XL <i>L.</i> |
| 1408. A Just. of <i>C. Pleas</i> had ——— ——— | LV <i>M.</i> |

In 1440. Upon a general Complaint of all the *Benches*, and of the *Attorney General*, of the ill Payment of their *Fees*, there was an Inquiry made, what they had usually received, for the last X Years past, and what the Crown was indebted to them; by which, and by the Answer that was made to it, it appears, that the standing Fee of each *Chief Justice* was 40 *l. per An.* but that by private Letters Patent, the *Ch. Just. of the Com. Pleas* was allowed 180 Marks *per An.* And the *Chief Justice of the K. Bench* was allowed 140 Marks *per An.* besides their Fees. And for their *Winter Robes*, 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. And for *Summer Robes* 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* The Fee of the *Justices* of both *Benches* was 40 Marks *per An.* their other Allowance was 110 Marks. The Fee of a *Justice of Assise* was 20 *l.* the Fee of the *Attorney General* was X *l. per An.* and what their other Allowance was, does not appear. The Allowance to the King's *Serjeants*, and the *Attorney*, for Robes, was 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.*

In 1545, the *Chief Just. of the K. Bench* had an Addition of 30 *l.* to his Fee: and each *Just. of the same Bench*, and of the *C. Pl.* had an Addition of 20 *l.* And indeed, at the very best, their Rewards seem

seem to have been far from equal to the faithful Discharge of their most painful and most useful Office: and yet it hath so pleased God, to bless their Labours, that I do not think I misreckon, when I say, That the *Law* hath laid the Foundation of *Two Thirds* of all the *Honours*, and *great Estates* in all *England*.

Let us now see a little to the Wages of *Workmen* and *Servants*, which has ever been accounted of such Importance, that the Parliaments themselves have thought fit to take cognizance of it, and to regulate it, according to the Rules following; tho', I think, with no great success.

In 1351. Workmen were to take their Wages in *Wheat*, at the rate of *Xd* the Bushel, which is *6 s. 8 d.* the Quarter.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Sarclers (that is Wee- ders) and Hay-makers, by the Day, _____ | l. s. d. 00 00 01 |
|--|----------------------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| Mowing Meadows, <i>5 d.</i> the Acre, or by the Day, | 00 00 05 |
|---|----------|

| | |
|---|----------|
| Reapers of Corn, in the first Week of <i>August</i> , by the Day, _____ | 00 00 02 |
|---|----------|

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| In the second Week, and third, and so on to the end of it, ——— — | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| Without Meat, Drink, or other Courtesy demanded. | | | |
| For threshing a Quarter of Wheat and Rye, — | 00 | 00 | 02 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| For threshing a Quarter of Barly, Beans, Pease, and Oats, ——— — | 00 | 00 | 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| A Master-Carpenter, Mason, or Tyler, by the Day, | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| Other Carpenters, Masons, or Tylers, ——— | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| Their Servants, or Boys, Plaisterers, Workers of Mud-walls, and their Knaves, or Servants, at the same rate, without Meat, or Drink, demanded. | 00 | 00 | 01 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| In 1360. Master-Carpenters, ——— — | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| Others, ——— — | 00 | 00 | 03 |
| Their Servants, ——— | 00 | 00 | 02 |
| In 1389. The Bailif for Husbandries yearly Wages, together with his Cloathing, once by Year at molt, and his Diet, which is supposed in the following Cases. | 00 | 13 | 04 |

The

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| The Master Hind, or Chief Husbandman labour- ing, ———— | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| The Carter, and the Shep- heard, each by the Year, | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| The Oxheard, ———— | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| The Cowheard, ———— | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| The Swineheard, ———— | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| A Woman Labourer, — | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| The Dayry-Woman, — | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| The Plough - Driver, at most, ———— | 00 | 07 | 00 |
| In 1446. The Wages of a Baylif of Husbandry, — | 01 | 03 | 04 |
| His Cloathing (Diet still supposed) ———— | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| The chief Carter, and chief Shepheard, ———— | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| Their Cloathing, each | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| A common Servant of Husbandry, ———— | 00 | 15 | 00 |
| His Cloathing, ———— | 00 | 03 | 04 |
| A Woman-Servant, ———— | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| Cloathing, ———— | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| An Infant (<i>i. e.</i> one un- der 14 Years of Age) — | 00 | 06 | 00 |
| Cloathing (with Diet) | 00 | 03 | 00 |
| The Servants of Hostlers (<i>i. e.</i> Innkeepers) Victuallers and Artificers, at the same Rates. | | | |

From

From *Easter*, till *Michaelmas*,

A Free-Mason, or Master-Carpenter, with Diet, by the Day, ——— ———

l. s. d.

00 00 04

Without Diet, ——— ———

00 00 05½

A Master-Tyler, Slater, Rough-Mason; a mean Carpenter, and other Artificers, building by the Day, with Diet, ——— ———

00 00 03

Without Diet, ——— ———

00 00 04½

Other Labourers, with Diet, 2 *d.* without Diet,

00 00 03½

From *Michaelmas* to *Easter*, they had a Penny by the Day less, the Days being then shorter.

But in time of Harvest a Mower had, with Diet,

00 00 04

Without Diet, — — —

00 00 06

A Reaper, and Carter, with Diet, 3 *d.* without Diet,

00 00 05

A Woman-Labourer, and other Labourers, with Diet,

00 00 02½

Without Diet, by the Day, ——— ———

00 00 04½

In 1514. A Bailif of Husbandries yearly Wages, —

01 06 08

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| His Cloathing (Diet sup- posed) _____ | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Chief Hind, Carter, and Shepherd, each _____ | 01 | 00 | 00 |
| Cloathing (with Diet) | 00 | 05 | 00 |
| Common Servant of Hus- bandry, _____ | 00 | 16 | 08 |
| Cloathing, _____ | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| Women Servants yearly Wages, _____ | 00 | 10 | 00 |
| Cloathing, _____ | 00 | 04 | 00 |
| A Child (<i>i. e.</i> a Servant) within 14. _____ | 00 | 06 | 08 |
| Cloathing, _____ | 00 | 04 | 00 |

From *Easter* to *Michael-*
mass, the daily Wages of

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| A Free Mason, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Rough Mason, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Bricklayer, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was _____ | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Tyler, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was _____ | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Plummer, with Diet, 4 <i>d.</i> without Diet was. _____ | 00 | 00 | 06 |

| | l. | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| A Glasier, with Diet, 4 d. | | | |
| without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Carver, with Diet, 4 d. | | | |
| without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| A Joiner, with Diet, 4 d. | | | |
| without Diet was | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| From <i>Michaelmas</i> to <i>Easter</i> , with Diet, 3 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| A Shipwright's Wages, was from <i>Candlemas</i> to <i>Michaelmas</i> , | | | |
| 1. A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 5 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 07 |
| 2. A Hewer, with Diet, 4 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| 3. An able Clincher, with Diet, 3 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| 4. A Holder, with Diet, 2 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 04 |
| 5. A Master Calker, with Diet, 4 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 06 |
| 6. A mean Calker, with Diet, 3 d. without Diet, | 00 | 00 | 05 |
| A Calker labouring by the Tide, with Diet, | 00 | 00 | 04 |

From *Michaelmas* to *Candlemas*, their Wages were,

| | With Diet, | Without Diet, |
|----|-------------------|-------------------|
| | d. | d. |
| 1. | — 4 | — 6 |
| 2. | — 3 | — 5 |
| 3. | — 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 4. | — 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — 3 |
| 5. | — 3 | — 5 |
| 6. | — 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | — 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

Other Labourers, from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, except in Harvest-time, had by the Day allowed, with Diet, 2 d. without it, — — —

l. s. d. .
00 00 04

From *Michaelmas* to *Easter*, with Diet, 1 d. without it, — — —

00 00 03

In Harvest-time, a Mower, with Diet, 4 d. without it, — — —

00 00 06

A Reaper, and a Carter, with Diet, 3 d. without it, — — —

00 00 05

A Woman-Labourer and other Labourers, with Diet, 2 d. without it, — — —

00 00 04 $\frac{1}{2}$

The

The Reader is not to think that these Rules were every where observed; but no Body could *demand*, or *sue* (I suppose) for greater Wages, than were here allowed: and yet the different Cheapness or Dearness of Provisions in several Countries, must be allowed to make amends for different Wages; and therefore these Rules could not be universally reasonable.

C H A P. VI.

The Conclusion.

TO apply the Chapter of *Corn*, and make it useful to your present Purpose, you must, in the first place, remember, that, during the whole Reign of *Henry VI.* excepting the first and last Years of it (which contains 17 Years above the Time of your Enquiry, which is from 1440 to 1460,) there were XXX s. in the Pound; whereas there are *now* (and have been for above an 100 Years) LXII s. The Ounce of Silver was *then*, at II s. VI d. 'tis *now* at V s. II d. So that the *VL.* (which is the Summ you are concern'd about) did *then* contain 40 Ounces; and *VL. now*, does not contain above 19 Ounces $\frac{1}{3}$. From whence you may safely conclude, that *VL.* in the Reign of *H. VI.* was of somewhat better value, than *XL.* now-a-days is. In the next place, to know somewhat more distinctly whereabouts an Equivalent to your ancient *VL.* will come, you are (as I before hinted) to observe how much *Corn*, *Meat*, *Drink*, or *Cloth*, might have been
 been

been purchased 250 Years ago, with *V l.* and to see how much of the modern Money will be requisite to purchase, the same quantity of Corn, Meat, Drink, or Cloth, now-a-days. To this End, you must neither take a very dear Year, to your Prejudice, nor a very cheap one, in your own Favour, nor indeed any single Year, to be your Rule; but you must take the Price of every particular Commodity, for as many Years as you can (20, if you have them) and put them all together; and then find out the common Price; and afterwards take the same Course with the Price of Things, for these last 20 Years; and see what Proportion they will bear to one another; for that Proportion is to be your Rule and Guide.

Thus, if for 20 Years together (from 1440, to 1460,) the common Price of *Wheat* were *VI s. VIII d.* the Quarter; and if from 1686, to 1706, the common Price of *Wheat* were *40 s.* the Quarter; 'tis plain, that *V l.* in *H. VI.* Time, would have purchased 15 Quarter of *Wheat*; for which you must have paid, for these last 20 Years, 30 Pound. So that 30 Pound *now*, would be no more than equivalent to *V l.* in the Reign of

H. VI. Thus if *Oats*, from 1440, to 1460, were generally at 2 s. the Quarter, and from 1686, to 1706, were at 12 s. the Quarter, 'tis manifest that 12 s. now, would be no more than equivalent to 2 s. then, which is but a sixth Part of it. Thus if Beans were then 5 s. and now 30 s. the Quarter, the same Proportion would be found betwixt 5 l. and 30 l. But you must not expect that every Thing will answer thus exactly. *Ale*, for Instance, was, during the time of your Founder, at Three-half-pence, the Gallon; but it has been, ever since you were born, at 8 d. at the least: which is but 5 times more, and a little over. So that 5 l. heretofore (betwixt 1440, and 1460,) would purchase no more *Ale*, than somewhat above 25 l. would now. Again, Good *Cloth*, such as was to serve the best *Doctor* in your *University*, for his Gown, was (between 1440, and 1460,) at 3 s. 7 d. ob. the Yard; at which Rate 5 l. would have purchased 27 Yards, or thereabouts. Now, you may purchase that quantity of fine Cloth, at somewhat less, I think, than 25 l. So that 25 l. now, would be an Equivalent to your 5 l. then, 250 Years since, if you pay about 18 s. the Yard, for your Cloth. I think I have
good

good Reason to believe, that Beef, Mutton, Bacon, and other common Provisions of Life, were six times as cheap in *H. VI.* Reign, as they have been, for these last 20 Years. And therefore I can see no Cause, why 28, or 30 *l. per An.* should now be accounted, a greater Estate, than 5 *l.* was heretofore, betwixt 1440, and 1460.

Sir *H. Spelman* (a very competent Judge and Æstimator of these Matters) complains, That the Laws have not sufficient regard to the different Price of Things, when they condemn People to death, for stealing Things to the value of *twelve Pence* ; for tho' that is according to Law, yet that Law was made when *twelve Pence* would have purchased, as much as you must now-a-days give 20, 30, nay 40 *s.* for. And he instances in a *Quarter of Wheat*, which in the *Affise of Bread*, 51 *H. III.* was rated at *twelve Pence*, but, in his Time, was often sold for 40 *s.* and upwards. 'Tis certain, the Laws do never condemn any One to death, for stealing to the value of *one*, no, nor 3 or 4 *Shillings* : but 'tis certain, that many die for stealing Things of less value than 20 *Shillings*. And therefore, I think, I have very sufficient Reason, (not to *determine*,
but)

but) to *conjecture*, that 5 l. 260 Years ago, was equivalent to 28, or 30 l. now. And consequently, that he who has an *Estate of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Pension*, of that value, now-a-days, may as honestly hold a *Fellowship* with it, as he who lived 260 Years ago, might have held it, with 99 s. *per An.* Nor does my Kindness and Concern for you, bias my Judgment in this Affair; for I have thought the same Thing, long before your Question was put; and, indeed, ever since I could consider the difference of Times, and the different Prices of Corn and all other Commodities. And I had rather put your Conscience on this Bottom, whose Reason is clear, and founded upon Matter of Fact, and History not to be controll'd; than upon the common Presumption, that your Founder did certainly intend, *his Scholars*, should live like *other Scholars* of the University; and that the Way of living being now much changed (do not offer to say improved) from what it was so long ago, you must needs be at liberty to live in the same Manner; for I dare say, that neither your Founder, nor any other Founder, if he were now alive, would admit of many expensive Articles, which the corrupt Customs of the
the

the Times, and multitude of Examples, have made young People think necessary; and which, I am persuaded, must, some time or other be reformed, as Things neither useful nor creditable to the Life of a Student. But of this, you will think I have said at least enough.

The Application of the Chapter of *Stipends*, to your Purpose is this; That if, about your Founder's time, 7 or 8 Marks was judged a competent Provision for a single Clergy-Man, and 8 Marks do not much exceed 5 *l.* then 5 *l.* was a tolerable Maintenance for a single Student. And if so, then if 28, or 30 *l.* be now-a-days, but a sufficient Maintenance, for a single Student (sober, and virtuous) it can be presumed to be no more now, than 7 or 8 marks heretofore was, and therefore may be enjoyed with the same Innocence and Honesty, together with a *Fellowship*, according to the Founder's Will.

I have now discharged my Engagement, and given such Answer to your Question, as I think is reasonable, and Honest: and might here take my Leave of you, if I did not think it would be acceptable enough, both to you, and other Readers, to acquaint you, that since I

was

was employed in writing an Answer to your Question, I had another put to me, concerning the *Oath* which the *Sheriff* of a County puts to such as are *Electors* of Parliament-Men, if he thinks fit; *viz.* Whether they have Lands or Tenements to the yearly value of 40 *s. ultra Reprisas*? *i. e.* Whether they have 40 *s. per An. clear.* All certain and necessary Charges being abated and deducted; for tho' a Man may receive 8 *l.* a Year for his Estate, yet if his *Quit-Rent*, or any other certain Payment, be 13 *s. 4 d.* that Man has not an Estate of 8 *l. ultra Reprisas*, because there is 13 *s. 4 d.* to be reprized, or *taken back again*, which is, I think, the meaning of the word. Now this Act of Parliament was made, 8 *H. VI.* when 40 *s. per An.* clear of all Encumbrance, was at least equal to 8 *l. per An.* now-a-days, (I put it so low, to avoid all Cavil and Dispute.) When a Freeholder therefore, does now take his Oath, that he has an Estate of 40 *s. per An.* 'tis manifest he does not mean 40 *s.* as it was valued when that Act of Parliament was made (1430) but as 40 *s.* go now in 1706. Is it not therefore manifest that he does not swear to the Purpose and Intention of the Law-givers, and only swears true to the

the *Denomination* of 40 s. *per Annum*? To this I answered, That doubtless, the Purpose and Intention of the Legislators, in 1430, was defeated by such an Oath, when he who swears has really but 40 s. *per An.* as Money and Things go *now*. But yet that such an Oath was honestly taken, and without any perjurious Fraud, or Reservation, because taken according to the literal Sense of the Words of it, and because taken in the Sense of those who administer it, and (as is most reasonably presumed, tho' not declared) in the Sense of the Legislative Power, which accepts, and justifies such Proceedings, and which has equal Power and Authority, to put what signification it pleases on Words, with the Parliament that made that Act, in 1430. These Things, when put together, may look, at first sight, somewhat oddly; that *one* Man may swear he is not worth V l. *per An.* according to the Statute that requires such Oath, when he is really worth more than X, or XX l. *per An.* and *another* may swear he is worth 40 s. *per An.* when he is really not worth 10 s. *per An.* according to the Statute that first imposed that Oath. You see then how necessary it is, to distinguish Times.

Whe-

Whether the Legislative Power, in 1430, did well, and wisely, in reducing the Number of Electors to such as were worth 40 s. *per Annum*, (which cut off many hundred thousand Voices, and consequently many occasions of Tumults and Disorders) is not to be doubted overmuch; nor yet is to be over-confidently affirmed, because if it had been so wise and useful an Ordinance, it would have still been kept up, in its due Proportion, according to the difference of Times; altho' the Changes of such Moment are not to be frequently and lightly made. But in these Affairs, it is not fit for private People to meddle.

I have but one Thing more to offer to your Consideration, from the Accounts I have given of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities, and then I will put an end to this long Letter: And that is, That if ever you design to take Orders, and obtain any *Rectory, Vicarage*, or higher *Dignity* in the Church, you be, above all Things, careful, how you make any Composition or Agreement, for any long Space of Years, to receive a certain Price of Money, for the Corn that is due to you, altho' for the present it may seem a tempting Bargain, and a profitable Exchange,

change, and rid you of some Trouble. You know not what Time may bring forth, nor what great Alterations may happen, nor what great Mischiefs you, unwittingly, may do your Successors. But I cannot better represent my Meaning, nor shew you the ill Consequence of such Agreements, than in the Words of Dr. Kennet, in his *Parochial Antiquities*; out of which, I will, with his Leave, and for your Sake, and for the common Benefit, transcribe a Page or two, to our present Purpose, p. 604. ' For the Mischief of a dead and unimproved Allowance in Money, there is a good Instance cited in a Charter to the Church of Peterborough (see Gunton's Hist. put out with great Additions by Bp. Patrick) by Walter de S. Edmundo about 1240, where the Abbot does grant, for God's Sake, and in respect to Peace, that instead of the Assize for Corn, which the Cellerarius paid him out of *Belassise*, he would hereafter accept of an Equivalent, in Money, viz. for 28 Quarter and one Schepe (i. e. a Bushel) of Wheat, he should receive IV. l. XIII s. IX d. by which Computation each Quarter was then valued at 3 s. 4 d. Had the Abbey continued, what an un-

‘ unhappy Bargain had it proved by this
 ‘ time, when the Rent must have kept
 ‘ standing at 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* whereas the
 ‘ present value of the Corn, would have
 ‘ been seldom less than *Fifty Pounds*. Such
 ‘ like Prejudice was done to the Church
 ‘ of *Sulthorn* (now *Souldern*) *Com. Oxon.*
 ‘ the Rector whereof used to receive from
 ‘ the Abbot and Convent of *Osenev*, one
 ‘ Acre of Bread-Corn, growing on their
 ‘ Demesn of *Mixbury*, and four Pence
 ‘ from their Demesn of *Fulewell*, till
 ‘ about the latter end of *Hen. III.* *Robert*
 ‘ *de Hay*, Rector of that Church, agreed
 ‘ to receive One hundred Shillings from
 ‘ the said Abbey, to purchase to himself
 ‘ and Successors, the Annual Rent of *five*
 ‘ *Shillings*, in full Compensation for the
 ‘ said Acre of Corn. So when *Maud de*
 ‘ *Cbesny* had given to the Prior and Ca-
 ‘ nons of *Burcester* 5 Quarters of Bread-
 ‘ Corn, out of her Mannor of *Heyford*
 ‘ (now *Heyford Warine*) *Com. Oxon.* to
 ‘ be delivered yearly to them, on Condi-
 ‘ tion they should find Hosts, or consecra-
 ‘ ted Bread at the said Church of *Hey-*
 ‘ *ford*; when this Mannor and Church
 ‘ were conveyed to *New College in Oxf.*
 ‘ *Tho. Banbury* Prior of *Burcester* and his
 ‘ Convent did, in 2 *H. VII. A.* 1486,
 ‘ release

‘ release the said Rent-Charge of Corn,
‘ for the Consideration of *six Shillings*
‘ *and eight Pence*, yearly in Money;
‘ which, by this time, would have born
‘ no greater Proportion to that quantity
‘ of Wheat, than 1 does to 30. When
‘ Parish-Churches were first appropriated
‘ to Religious Houses, they were sup-
‘ plied by Secular Priests, who were sti-
‘ pendiary Curates with the Salary of V,
‘ or at best, but X Marks; and when by
‘ the Ordination of Vicarages, this Sti-
‘ pend was exchanged into a standing
‘ Portion of Tithe and Glebe, and Manse,
‘ such Endowment was generally propor-
‘ tion’d to the Pecuniary Rate of V or
‘ X Marks, so that the Alteration at that
‘ time, was no Benefit to the Priest, only
‘ as it bettered his Title, and made him
‘ a Perpetual Vicar, instead of an Arbi-
‘ trary Curate. But consider, if the Por-
‘ tion of the Vicar had been allotted, in
‘ such a certain Summ of Money, what
‘ Mendicants must our Country-Vicars
‘ now have been! Whereas the Assigna-
‘ tion being made in improvable Land
‘ and Tithe, by this means (the value
‘ of Money abating, and the rate of Land
‘ and Commodities advancing) some
‘ Vicarages, which at the first Ordina-
‘ N tion,

' tion, had no greater Endowment than
 ' what was equivalent to V Marks, do
 ' now afford the Maintenance of 50 *l. per*
 ' *An.* Hence the Memory of Sir *Thomas*
 ' *Smith* is highly to be honoured, for
 ' promoting the Act in 18 *Eliz.* where-
 ' by it was provided, that a third Part of
 ' the Rent upon Leafes made by Col-
 ' leges, should be reserved in *Corn*, pay-
 ' able either in Kind or Money, after
 ' the rate of the best Prices in *Oxford* or
 ' *Cambridge*-Markets, on the next Mar-
 ' ket-Day, before *Michaelmas* and *Lady-*
 ' *Day*. This worthy Knight, is said to
 ' have been engaged in this Service, by
 ' the Advice of Mr. *Henry Robinson*, soon
 ' after *Provost* of *Queens Coll. Oxon.* and
 ' from that Station advanced to the See
 ' of *Carlisle*. And Tradition goes, that
 ' this Bill passed the Houses, before they
 ' were sensible of the good Consequences
 ' of it. We know, in the latter Times
 ' of our Confusion, a Project was car-
 ' ried on, of destroying the ancient Right
 ' of Tithes, and converting that pious
 ' Maintenance of the Clergy, into set-
 ' tled Portions of Money. How fatal
 ' this Innovation would have been in
 ' time, is ingeniously urged by two inge-
 ' nious and learned Writers, (Mr. *Stephens*,
 ' Pref.

‘ such Rate, no doubt, when first imposed, was equivalent to the Thing commuted for it, whereas they now bear but small, or no Proportion to it. As, for Instance, in one of the old *Saxon* Laws (confirmed by the *Conqueror*) it is provided, That if a Man, have one or two *Colts*, he shall pay for the fall of each, *one Penny*, and the like for *Calves*; which was a just Proportion, when the best Colt or Calf was not valued above X Pence. But the Iniquity is, that this Custom does *still* obtain in many Parishes; and the like minute Consideration, for *Wooll* and *Lambs*, where, for Custom sake, the Trifle must be taken, without any Allowance for the much advanced value of them: by which means, the *modus Decimandi*, is a growing Injury, and calls for a Relief by Law, when it shall please the Wisdom, and the Justice of our Governors. Those eight Men of Quality and Learning, who were appointed at the beginning of the Reformation, to collect such Ecclesiastical Canons, as ought to remain in force, did freely declare their Judgment, *That these Customs ought to be abrogated*. And the learned Dr. *Cowell*, has professed the same Opinion, that it

‘ is reasonable to take away all such Customs, as do lessen the Tenth Part, due to the Church of God. (the *Interpreter* in the word *Tithe*.) Thus far that learned and experienced Person, to whose Authority I can add nothing, since what he says is plain and reasonable, and confirm’d by Matter of Fact. And I do heartily concur with him, in wishing the Gentlemen of the *Clergy* would seriously consider these Matters, wherever they have occasion. And thus, you see, that the Consideration of these small Matters, may be of Use, in Things of great importance. I have only to add, That I shall think my self well paid for my Pains, if I have given you the Satisfaction you desire, and any little Encouragement to look your self into the *Antiquities* of your Native Country, according to the very laudable Example of many excellent Persons of your *Famous University*.



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